

Africa Digest

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AFRICA



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CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

Franchise Proposals

THREE different franchise systems are being examined at present in the Federation. These are: (i) The Federal Government's proposed Franchise for Federal subjects; (ii) The Tredgold Commission Report for Southern Rhodesia; and (iii) The Southern Rhodesia Government's proposals based on the Tredgold recommendations.

I. *Federal Government's Proposals*—as recently explained by Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister. There are to be two rolls, the "A" or common roll, and the "B" or special roll. The "A" roll may be regarded as the Common Voters' Roll, while the "B" roll is for those voters who can satisfy a lower qualification. There is to be no discrimination on grounds of race.

The "A" roll will elect 44 ordinary members (24 S. Rhodesia, 14 N. Rhodesia, six Nyasaland). In addition, the "A" roll will participate with the "B" roll in the function that roll will undertake, which is to elect eight African members (four S. Rhodesia, two N. Rhodesia and two Nyasaland), together with one European representative of African interests in S. Rhodesia.

In S. Rhodesia each "A" voter will have three votes (one each for the ordinary constituency member, an elected African member and a specially elected European member). In the northern territories each "A" voter will have two votes (one for his constituency member and one for an elected African member).

"B" roll voters (who will elect nine members, representing African interests) will have two votes in S. Rhodesia (one each for an elected African member and the specially elected European member); they will have one vote in the northern territories (for an elected African member).

Qualifications—"A" Roll: An income of £270 p.a. and literacy in English, or an income of £480 p.a. and primary education, or an income of £300 p.a. and Cambridge School Certificate (or equivalent). "B" Roll: Literacy in English and approximately £200 p.a. income. Provision is made for British Protected Persons to have the franchise on the same qualifications as British subjects.

II. *Tredgold Commission Proposals for S. Rhodesia*. The Commission recommended qualifications for "ordinary" voters, apart from an adequate knowledge of English, as follows: (a) An income of £60 per month or occupation of property valued at £1,500, plus the present literacy tests; or (b) an income of £40 per month or occupation of property valued at £1,000 and standard VI education; or (c) an income of £25 a month or occupation of property valued at £500 and form IV education; and (d) a "special" category of an income of £15 with the present literacy tests. Votes in this category subject to reduction in value if they exceed one-third of the total votes in any constituency.

The Commission accepted the precept that government must remain

in the hands of "civilized and responsible persons." It opposed universal adult franchise, as there would be a danger of people without judgment exercising the vote. It opposed the system of multiple voting and any form of racial representation.

III. *S. Rhodesia Government Proposals*—as recently explained by the Prime Minister of S. Rhodesia, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, the means and education qualifications are the same as for (a), (b) and (c) above in the Tredgold proposals. But for (d) substitute: Either (i) £20 per month with the present tests of literacy; or (ii) Standard VIII, plus two years' continuous employment in any particular occupation. (No financial qualification.) As and when the total number of voters registered under this last qualification (d) equals 20 per cent. of the total number of ordinary voters registered in the Colony on the voters' roll, then the special voters' section of the roll will be closed to future enrolment. *N.B.*—(a) There is no Federal Franchise at present. The first Federal Parliament was elected and appointed under special provisions. (b) The present S. Rhodesia Franchise is based on a common roll with certain qualifications. (c) The Federal Constitution lays down the composition of the Federal Parliament, under which it must include representation on a racial basis. (d) Certain standards (Citizenship, Age and length of residence) are not shown above. (*Federal Newsletter*, July, 1957.)

Commenting on the Federal proposals, the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said: "The system we are proposing, of course, will mean that the people on the 'A' roll will also participate in the election of the 'B' roll candidates. There will be no question of restricting voters registering on either roll on the basis of colour. It will purely be on the question of qualifications." Sir Roy added: "I am hoping the fact that the voters on the 'A' roll will also participate in the 'B' roll elections will mean that we will develop a responsible form of representation for the 'B' roll electorate."

Discussing the question of British protected persons, he added: "All that has happened is that they will now be eligible to qualify—that they will be put in exactly the same position as Southern Rhodesian Africans have been since 1924. I say categorically that we can never achieve a sound basis for our Federation if we exclude British protected persons."

Mr. Greenfield, the Federal Minister of Law, explained how the proposals would work in the proposed enlarged Federal Assembly (see below). "General or 'A' voters would participate in the election of 53 members in this way. In Southern Rhodesia each general or 'A' voter would have three votes (as he did in the 1953 Federal general election). There would be one for his ordinary constituency member; one vote for one of four elected African members; and one for the specially elected European member. In the Northern Territories each 'A' voter would have two votes—one for his ordinary constituency member and one for one of the two elected African members. Special or 'B' voters would participate only in the election of nine members representative of African interests. In Southern Rhodesia each special or 'B' voter would have two votes—one for one of four elected African members and one for the specially

elected European member. In the Northern Territories each 'B' voter would have one vote—for an African elected member." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 6, 1957.)

Constitutional Amendment

The Federal Government has also introduced a Bill to enlarge the Federal Assembly from 35 to 59 members. At present the Federal Parliament is composed of 26 ordinary elected members, six specially elected Africans and three Europeans representing African interests. Of the six Africans, the two from Southern Rhodesia are elected on the common roll, as is also the Colony's European member for African interests. The Government's plan to increase the size of the House to 59 members involves raising the number of ordinary members to 44, the special Africans to 12 and leaving the special Europeans at the present total of three.

The increase in the number of ordinary members will mean that Southern Rhodesia will elect 24 instead of 14; Northern Rhodesia 14 instead of eight; and Nyasaland six instead of four. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 13, 1957.)

A proviso in the Bill allows for the ultimate elimination of members elected on a racial basis. It provides that if and when an African is elected as an "ordinary elected member," that is, as a member representing an ordinary constituency and chosen by people of all races, then from the next general election the number of "ordinary elected members" for the territory concerned would be increased by one and the number of specially elected members for African interests accordingly decreased. The first African representatives to go would be the "elected African members," then the specially elected African members from the two northern territories and ultimately the Europeans representing African interests. It is possible, therefore, that if 15 Africans could secure election by members of all races on a common roll there would be no members specifically concerned with African interests. This would mean the disappearance of the African Affairs Board, a standing committee of Parliament charged with examining all legislation to see that it does not discriminate against Africans. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 13, 1957.)

In Southern Rhodesia at present the 14 seats have, on average, about 3,500 voters. With the extra seats, this average will drop to about 2,250. In Northern Rhodesia at present the size of constituencies is about 1,700 voters. With the extra seats, this figure will drop to about 1,000 on average. Nyasaland at present has no Federal constituencies, so its two extra seats will present no problem. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 21, 1957.)

On his arrival in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, Sir Roy Welensky said that the main point about the federal franchise proposals was that they threw open the possibility of the vote to four million Africans who had never had it before. By making British protected persons, as well as British citizens, eligible, they would include all the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The property qualification for the "B" roll—the lower of the two electoral rolls, and the one that would elect the African members—had not yet been settled by the Federal Party caucus. It might turn out to be lower than the qualification finally adopted in Southern Rhodesia. (*The Times*, June 22, 1957.)

In a speech to the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London, he said that universal adult suffrage would be "an impossible system to adopt" in the Federation. It would be "no less than a sell-out to irresponsibility." He added: "On neither roll is there discrimination on grounds of colour. There is nothing to stop the African who qualifies from enrolling on the 'A' roll. There is discrimination on the grounds of education and financial standing, but by this discrimination I stand. It is essential to the standards which Britons have set." The franchise and the Government's general policy allowed every scope and every reasonable facility for the African to advance. The racial policy in the Federation was one of partnership. If the doctrine of the domination of one race over another was rejected, he was not clear what could be substituted for partnership.

"To me the meaning of partnership can be summed up in the words: 'A man can have what he can earn.'" (*Daily Telegraph*, June 25, 1957.)

The Times (June 20, 1957) said that there were "good points about the (franchise) proposals, but the idea that 'A' voters should vote on the 'B' roll as well is unacceptable. It might lead to a preponderance of Europeans electing some of the African members in the Federal Legislature, and thereby defeating the substance and the spirit of the Federal Constitution."

Reaction to the Proposals

All three Territorial Legislatures have formally agreed that the Federal Assembly should discuss the proposals. This agreement is indispensable before any constitutional amendment can come before the Assembly. However, the proposals had a mixed reception from individual political leaders.

Dr. Alexander Scott, Independent Federal M.P., said of the franchise proposals: "Sir Roy, who believes, as did his predecessor, in making only such small concessions to Africans as will not annoy the Europeans he represents, will find if he is not careful that time is running too fast to enable him to meet the increasing demands of Africans. His plight may well be too little and too late." Dr. Scott said that, under Sir Roy's proposals, Africans would have little or no say in the choice of European members and only a limited choice of African members. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 11, 1957.)

On the Constitutional Amendment Bill, Mr. John Roberts, a member of the Federal Party in N. Rhodesia, said that the Federal Government's proposals "are a genuine attempt to put a brake on the rank racialism which governs many of the speeches in their Assembly."

Mr. John Gaunt (Dominion Party, N. Rhodesia) said: "The idea of reducing the number of specially elected members and increasing the number of 'ordinary' members every time an African is elected to represent all races, although logical, will not appeal to the African. . . . Idealistically the idea is good, but the plain truth is that in a multi-racial country people like to be represented by a member of their own race . . . the Bill is purely a measure to accommodate the United Rhodesia Party politicians in Southern Rhodesia who have aspirations to the Federal sphere. If accepted, it would prove to be seats for sycophants."

Mr. S. H. Chileshe, one of the four African M.L.C.s in N. Rhodesia, said: "The Bill is a small improvement, but it is not enough." Northern Rhodesia should be granted more than two ordinary African elected members each in the Federal Parliament. "I think this would be a quicker and more satisfactory way of eliminating the racialism in the Federal Assembly. Africans who are representing both their own people and Europeans would be far less inclined towards racialism than specially elected members." (*Central African Post*, May 22, 1957.)

Mr. Bradford Phiri, the acting President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress, said Congress would urge the Nyasaland Government and the African M.L.C.s to oppose the Bill.

The President of the Asian Convention, Mr. A. S. Sacranie, said: "I think this is the time for the Federal Government to realize the value of Asian co-operation. . . . Any proposal which enlarges the Federal Parliament must ensure adequate Asian representation with at least one from Nyasaland." (*Nyasaland Times*, May 31, 1957.)

In a letter to the *Central African Examiner* (July 6, 1957), Archdeacon E. D. K. Wood and the Rev. R. G. Gibbon, writing as the Acting Chairman and Secretary of the Social and Industrial Council of Mashonaland, S. Rhodesia, said that the Council "regards the Federal Prime Minister's franchise proposals with misgiving. To give one example, hundreds of thousands of Christian Africans look to their African clergy and ministers for a lead, and these clergy and ministers have a more responsible position than almost any other African today. But by the Federal franchise proposals, as I read them, only two of our own 21 African clergy will qualify for a vote

on the 'A' roll, and these two are among the youngest and least experienced. Three of the 21 will have not even a 'B' vote, even though they are civilized men holding positions of trust and responsibility. Men of that standing have a right to the vote and the whole vote. The 'B' vote will do nothing to conciliate them. In certain circumstances, half a loaf is an insult, not a concession, and, anyway, civilized and responsible Africans are asking for rights, not for concessions or compromises. Many who had a vote in the referendum and the first Federal election, and voted Federal because they believed in partnership, will have no 'A' vote under the present proposals. Unless Sir Roy Welensky, like Mr. Garfield Todd, is prepared to open the common roll more widely to African voters, he is in danger of losing his best friends among the Africans.

"We write this letter, not in the name of the Anglican Church, nor with any intention of making a political agitation, but only to express the views of a small inter-racial group that feels that the Federal franchise is something that can win or lose the confidence of the Africans in the whole Federal system. The present proposals will, we think, lose that confidence."

Comment on the Federation

Mr. Arthur Gaitskell initiated a correspondence in *The Times* (May 29, 1957) in which he drew attention to the inequity of current policy in the Federation. In reply, Mr. Philip Broadbent said that Mr. Gaitskell's letter would cause mischief because "it misrepresents British Government policy and it gratuitously slanders Sir Roy Welensky, whose policy, like that of his predecessor Lord Malvern, is a liberal one."

Mr. Evans Richards said that "Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, given the existing Federal Constitution, with its unbalanced representation of racial groups, and the virulent antipathy of white extremists towards anything savouring of liberalism have had all too little room for manoeuvre; nevertheless, there has been genuine progress. . . ."

"On the other hand the settlers and their British apologists, morbidly sensitive to criticism, must realize that their conduct is on trial. That liberal-minded people in this country are genuinely disturbed may be neither here nor there; but seven million Africans will not be deceived, nor will they confuse professions with performance. When we criticize and insist on the retention of Protectorate status for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is not from malice, but because our own honour and interests are at stake. If in bitterness the Africans turn against a West whose highest gifts and ideals are strictly for Europeans only, the disastrous consequences will not be restricted to Lusaka and Salisbury."

Sir Charles Ponsonby said: "It is unfortunate that the old political animosities and arguments should be revived. The cause of all the trouble is fear—fear by one section of the community that they will be submerged, and by the other section that they will never be allowed to rise. But when fear is voiced by a few extremists of both sections, it runs like fire through the unresisting stubble and may destroy the wealth of common sense which feeds on happiness and optimism. . . . Is it not possible to help by exchanging political bitterness for goodwill and mutual understanding?"

Dr. Roland Oliver argued: "Effective autonomy tends to be the result of the activity of a politically conscious minority, regardless of its racial origin. And over the manner in which such a minority will exercise its autonomy the metropolitan power has only a very limited influence. If it suits the interest of the particular minority, the formal transfer of power may be preceded by a last minute, headlong scamper to the democracy of adult suffrage; but the metropolitan power cannot thereby necessarily compliment itself on having established a lasting reign of liberty and justice. Elsewhere, the politically-conscious minority may be one that is determined to exercise its autonomy. Distressing as this must be to metropolitan democrats,

there is not much that they can do to modify it. They can at best hope to use their remaining influences to try to ensure that the oligarchy may develop as an open and expanding one."

Mr. H. M. Nkumbula and Mr. K. D. Kaunda, respectively President and Secretary of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, drew attention to the effect of the concession recently gained by Sir Roy Welensky with regard to the appointment of the Governor-General. The Governor-General had certain constitutional duties, in particular in relation to the African Affairs Board, which make him "one of the safeguards for Africans written into the constitution. . . ." The Board was said to be one of the great safeguards of the Africans. "Its actions are now largely in the control of a man whose appointment was apparently submitted for approval to a man chosen as Prime Minister by Europeans only—a man to whom no African looks for fair treatment."

Mr. John Rex wrote: "Those of us who oppose further transfer of power from Whitehall to the settlers do so because the constitutional arrangements which this minority proposes provide no guarantee that those who become civilized in the future will ever be granted a share in political power. Indeed, Sir Roy Welensky has made it clear that he does not envisage Africans attaining equality with Europeans for another 200 years, and there would be nothing to stop a future Premier raising the franchise qualifications as Lord Malvern did in Southern Rhodesia."

"But even if one felt sure that Sir Roy Welensky himself would play fair with the Africans it must still be asked whether our trust in one man can justify us in handing over power to a white electorate. Britain trusted Botha and Smuts. But the power which she gave to them is wielded to-day in my own country by Mr. Strijdom. Similarly, Sir Roy Welensky might at any time be swept away by a "white domination" party. We cannot escape from our responsibilities in this matter. Only Britain can ensure the continuation and speeding up of African advancement and only Britain can guarantee the establishment of partnership in a political sense."

Miss Margery Perham disagreed with Dr. Oliver's analysis and argued that Britain "should stay in Central Africa." She wrote: "Almost every voice in the world, interested or disinterested, tells Africans of their right to democratic government, voices which Sir Roy Welensky cannot prevent them from hearing. The European minorities may indeed be shortsighted in demanding the expulsion of the only authority which the Africans will trust to give them protection since, before many years have passed, this may prove to be the only authority which can provide the same service for the European minority."

Federal By-election Campaign

African leaders in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were busy destroying any vestige of confidence the Africans had in their local government, and they were being helped by certain elements in Britain to do this, said the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, at a by-election meeting at Mrewa, Southern Rhodesia. "This is a most serious business and has demonstrated one of the most serious weaknesses of the Federal Constitution," he added. "I have no hesitation in saying that the critics of Federation outside this country would welcome the defeat of the Government candidate in this election. But it is worth remembering that we are entering a period which will be of the greatest importance to us, because I believe that between now and 1960 we can lay the foundation for the achievement of independence. We have got to show that the tolerance and integrity that has been traditional in the Federation is not going to be upset by the vaporizings of so-styled African leaders and their howling for self-government for Africans, or by such incidents as the Matimba case. . . ."

"The African leaders have fostered the belief that the only people who will give them a square deal is the House of Commons, through

* DIGEST IV, 4 and 5.

the Colonial Office. This thing has gone so far that to-day you see the spectacle of African organizations inviting out Labour Members of Parliament to see the facts for themselves (as they put it.) With this result, the undermining of local government is steadily going on."

Sir Roy said the fact that the Federal Government had no say in African affairs, in terms of the constitution, and the fact that the recognized Colonial Office policy was to prepare backward peoples for self-government was understood by the Africans to mean one thing only—self-government for Africans. That was what was happening on the rest of the African continent under Colonial Office control. The African could not, and his leaders would not, understand that the position was very difficult in the Federation. They said that Colonial Office rule meant eventual black rule, while Federation meant white rule. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 18, 1957.)

The seat was won by Mr. Winston Field, the leader of the Dominion (Opposition) Party, by a majority of 152 votes out of 2,608 votes cast. This contrasted with a Federal majority of 690 in 1953.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (June 10, 1957) said: "Mrewa can be taken as a pointer of the possible feelings of the country, and an indication that the Federals have lost considerable ground during the three-and-a-half years they have been in office. There has undoubtedly been a heavy swing among the electorate from the Federal to the Dominion Party principles and policies." The *Sunday Mail* (June 9, 1957) said that the Federal Party had lost the Mrewa by-election and it had lost ground generally, not because it had made mistakes but, paradoxically enough, because it had done the right thing. There were many people in this country who believed that the Government had gone too far in implementing its partnership policies. They were afraid, and that fear (excited deliberately in certain quarters) had been reflected in this and earlier by-elections.

Lord Malvern Attacks Interference

Lord Malvern, former Federal Prime Minister, told an audience in Northern Rhodesia that the difficulties to be overcome in the Federation had been made immensely greater by outside interference. "If only we who live in this part of Africa," he said, "could be left alone to work out our own salvation, I have every confidence we could do it easily with justice and fairness to everybody." It was on the political side that the real danger arose. Western communities with their ultra-democratic systems had not yet demonstrated to his satisfaction that they had all the answers. In fact, they seemed to have created world chaos at the present time. It appeared, he said, that the people in Britain, especially the left-wing elements, had given up their senses of spiritual values. They had become idolaters worshipping the ideal of a universal vote. "Before we can consider following their example I think, in fairness, we should tell these people we don't claim to be a democracy because we know we are not bowing to causes outside our control. But we are on the road to democracy, the rough and tough road."

Lord Malvern said that Central Africa could not follow the advice given from Whitehall that because the Africans were human beings and were more numerous than the European they must be allowed to take control. No one would deny the right of those people to take control if in a majority, and if they had proved they could provide knowledgeable government of justice and integrity. But it would be just as dangerous to go too fast as it would be to go too slow. Lord Malvern then went on to warn of the danger of giving too much in exchange for the "wonderful so-called vision" of becoming a Dominion. "It would be a great crime against all races in this country," he declared, "if, for instance, the franchise law was designed so that there would be no opposition in the United Kingdom to the Federal State becoming a Dominion. It would be a complete sell-out because you know the sort of thing that would satisfy them—and then the price of status would have been far too high," he said. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 25, 1957.)

Queen Mother Installed at University College

Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, was installed as first President of the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Queen Mother said that to set up a university institution in this part of Africa which had been in contact with western civilization for so short a time, was a striking act of faith. To insist that the college from its inception should aim at the highest academic standards and should open its doors to all who qualified to enter, regardless of race or colour, was a great challenge. (*The Times*, July 6, 1957.)

The *Times* (July 5, 1957) described the college as "symbolic." . . . "The establishment of an institution of higher education in Central Africa marks the emergence of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a country large enough and self-reliant enough to undertake the education of its own people through all stages. That capacity is one of the tests of fitness for sovereignty. The college is also symbolic because its opening marks the most decisive step hitherto taken towards partnership between the races."

At a public meeting in Nyasaland, Dr. Walter Adams, the Principal, said, in answer to a question about separate halls of residence for European and African students: "We were either going to risk the death of the University or take the way of expediency and common sense. We would have lost European students on that one minor issue. We would have had only black students and the University would have died in three years."

In reply to another question, Dr. Adams said the number of African students was limited by the number of schools from which African students could be drawn. There were only two schools which taught them to the required standard, whereas there were 22 European schools.

"The multi-racial aspect has attracted a great deal of notice," he commented. "At the University we think colour is relatively unimportant and irrelevant. But we are aware of the political and social contributions we can make. Opinion is very much divided inside the college and we are conscious of reactions outside." (*Nyasaland Times*, April 12, 1957.)

Money Counts

European employees in the Federation earned an average of £1,127 each in 1956. The average income of employees has increased from £977 in 1953. Northern Rhodesia has the highest paid Europeans. Their average income was £1,198 in 1953 and £1,378 last year.

The numbers of Europeans employed in the territories were: Southern Rhodesia nearly 70,000, Northern Rhodesia 27,786, Nyasaland 3,740. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 21, 1957.)

The international Bank has loaned £122 million to Central Africa. This sum is made up of the £80,000,000 loan for the Kariba dam, £28,000,000 loaned to Southern Rhodesia in 1952 for thermal power projects and £14,000,000 to Northern Rhodesia for railways in 1953. The Bank's magazine, *Loans at Work*, states that with the trebling of copper production in the past 10 years Northern Rhodesia was now the world's second largest copper producer, while Southern Rhodesia had developed a fully integrated textile industry since the war, as well as the beginning of a steel industry. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 6, 1957.)

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Macintyre, opened the Central Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Bank recently issued the first Federal coins and bank notes. Before that it had fixed the value of the Rhodesian £ at parity with sterling and now it provides the Federation with its own money market. It fixes the bank rate, is the Government's banker, agent and adviser in money matters, and exercises its influence to curb inflationary practices and tendencies. It acts as a house of settlement for the commercial banks, and is, in fact, their banker. The *Rhodesia Herald* commented that this did not mean that from now onwards the Federation can "cock a snook" at the vagaries of the £ sterling. Circumstances are such that we remain highly sensitive to monetary influences in London.

But so far as the mechanics are concerned, we do now control our own monetary affairs.

Capricorn Programme

The President of the Capricorn Africa Society, Colonel Stirling, speaking at Bulawayo, declared that, in the Society's view, stable progress in the Federation necessitated a numerical superiority of African voters on the roll.

Colonel Stirling denied that the present liberal trend of legislation was capable of improving inter-racial relations. On the contrary, he declared, African leaders who understood the European view were turning from constructive African nationalism to bitter destructive racialism. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 30, 1957.)

Colonel Stirling also announced the foundation of a "Massive political organization" with a Capricorn platform in the Federation in October, 1957.

Uranium Survey

Dr. Basil Schonland, deputy of the atomic research station at Harwell, has visited the Federation to discuss a new programme of research for radio-active minerals. The programme includes an aerial survey of about 6,000 square miles of territory in the north-west of Southern Rhodesia and the examination of rivers which may drain uranium-bearing rocks. Dr. Schonland will also have talks with Government officials and mining company representatives on legislation for the control of radio-active minerals and for setting up laboratories for research work. (*The Times*, June 18, 1957.)

African Advancement in the Post Office

By employing Africans the output of the telephone repair workshops of the Post Office in Salisbury has been trebled. At the same time, during the eight months from October to May, the number of European man hours per month has been cut by 1,000—from 1,713 to 713. These figures explain why the latest move in African advancement in the Post Office is regarded as highly successful. Fifteen Standard VI Africans have been trained to find the faults on telephone instruments, thus taking a lot of work off the shoulders of the European mechanics. (*Federation Newsletter*, June 22, 1957.)

Agricultural College for Africans

The Federal Government is to establish an agricultural college for Africans in Southern Rhodesia which will train African farmers to the same standards as European farmers are trained in the European agricultural college in the territory. The college will provide a three-year diploma course for between 30 and 40 students. The current Federal estimates allow £100,000 for the college. (*Manchester Guardian*, July 8, 1957.)

Trade Union Congress Conference

At its annual conference the Federal Trade Union Congress declined to make a decision on its attitude to Africa trade union representation on its organization. It over-ruled attempts by Mr. M. P. C. Went, Vice-President of the T.U.C. and General Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union, and by Mr. S. R. Watson, the United Steelworkers' Delegate, to discuss the principles involved. It accepted a motion by Mr. B. J. Petersen, General Secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union, that the item on the agenda, "Discussion of the principles involved in the question of African Trade Union representation of the Federal T.U.C.," lie on the table.

Opening the conference, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said: "We are in a position to take the lead in our part of the African continent, if not on the Continent itself—and indeed, I believe we are beginning to do so. That may seem to be a statement coloured with a certain degree of national pride, if not conceit, but look on it this way. In the south there is an established pattern of political practice called *apartheid*, which is being rigidly applied.

It has been cemented into the structure of the country, and it attempts the perpetual domination of one race by another. By contrast in the north, several of the Coloured states are giving themselves up to an orgy of nationalism of a different sort, in which self-government for the sake of self-government is matched with a carefree disregard of the hard facts of economic life. It is only here, in the Federation, that an attempt is being made to open a way to all races to go forward politically and economically, without lowering the standards of life which are the accepted standards of the civilized Western world." This was something new in Africa, said Sir Roy, and it was also leadership, but the leader was always exposed to criticism and there were critics enough, not only among the Doubting Thomases and the timid, but also among those frustrated would-be prime ministers in the Federation, and their doctrinaire supporters abroad.

I believe we should never lose sight of the cost, should this experiment be allowed to fail. The price of failure would be one of two things in the short term—victory for black nationalism on the one hand, or the establishment here of *apartheid*, with all its repressive implications, on the other. I believe that all thinking people in this country would deplore the one as much as the other. And in the long term the price would be even greater—communism which stands ready to reap the reward of instability in Africa. The way we have chosen to follow allows no compromise with reality, no concessions to the demagogues and no lowering of our standards," added Sir Roy. (*Federation Newsletter*, June 18, 1957.)

High Intake of Immigrants

Compared with other parts of the Commonwealth the Federation's intake of immigrants was very high, said Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs. With a European population of about 250,000, the Federation last year brought in 26,200 immigrants. In Australia, with a population of nearly 10,000,000, the annual intake was 115,000; in Canada, with a population of 15,000,000, it was 110,000; in New Zealand, with 2,000,000 Europeans, the intake was 20,000; and South Africa, with nearly 3,000,000 Europeans, took about 12,000 immigrants. Sometimes the Federation's immigration effort was compared unfavourably with that of Australia. On the basis of the rate of immigration in relation to the existing European population, Australia's intake had averaged about one-and-a-half per cent. a year, as against the Federation's 10 per cent. of European population. Mr. Goldberg said a wastage in the Federation of 6,000 a year through emigration was not unreasonable. (*Federation Newsletter*, June, 18, 1957.)

Northern Rhodesia

Discussions on Franchise and Constitution

THE Executive of the Northern Rhodesia Division of the Dominion Party has described the franchise proposals contained in the report of the Southern Rhodesia Franchise Commission (Tredgold) as "quite unacceptable" either for Federal or Territorial elections. It added: "The Dominion Party abides firmly by its proposals for a dual roll." (*Central African Post*, April 8, 1957.)

Mr. D. Siwale moved in the African Representative Council, "that the time was ripe for parity of representation during the transitional period between the present and the next constitution was introduced. He said that the policy of African paramountcy had been supplanted by partnership and with political parties now seeking dominion status and self-government the Africans felt they must have equal representation in order to safeguard their own interests.

Speaking of African fears generally, he said: "The suspicion in African minds is that this country is becoming like South Africa." There were 12 elected members in the Legislative Council, representing between 60,000 and 70,000 Europeans, but only four African

members to represent 2,500,000. Was that fair? Mr. S. H. Chileshe, seconding, said the Africans were fond of the Colonial Office for the noble services it had rendered in the African development of the territory. But though they had been told the British Government would not permit either secession or amalgamation of the three territories, they were still in the dark as to who the voters at the next general election would be.

Mr. L. Katilungu proposed that Africans should qualify for the vote if over 21, able to read and write in their own language (not in English) and had a wage or property of £50 a year. He said that during the transitional period between the present and the new constitutions there should be equal representation in the Legislative Council and, in view of the importance of keeping the balance of power, the government officials should continue to sit in the Council after parity was achieved.

The Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. D. B. Hall, President of the African Representative Council, intervened to say: "I look forward to the time when the person who obtains a seat in the Legislative Council will obtain it not because he has a white or a black skin, but because the voters think he is either the best man or that his Party is the best Party. He warned members that under a system of parity there would always be an equal number of votes on each side, and said he feared such a system would become permanent.

The *Central African Post* (June 7, 1957), commented: "A common roll with adult suffrage is virtually what the African Representative Council is asking for. . . . Such a franchise can mean only that the overwhelming majority of the representation on the voters' rolls would be African. For practical purposes only one race would be represented. Introduced at this stage, this franchise would place the European minority entirely in the hands of the African majority, most of whom are uneducated and backward. . . .

"Because of his trade union training and background, Mr. Katilungu no doubt feels that it is essential, when making demands, to place them so high, even ridiculously high, that when he makes concessions, the effect will be to give him what he feels he may get. . . .

"As a trade unionist Sir Roy knows the meaning of bargaining. He knows that people like Mr. Katilungu will begin by asking for the earth and be content with much less, but Mr. Katilungu and people like him must not be ignored."

Copperbelt Earnings

The average earnings of the 6,852 European employees of the copper mines during the year ended June 30, 1956, were £2,295. This figure does not include benefits received by employees from company contributions to pension schemes and life insurance premiums, and company subsidized housing.

The average earnings of 39,000 Africans on copper mines during the same period were £160. The average cash earnings of European employees on the copper mines increased by 115 per cent. between 1950 and 1956, while that of African employees increased by 162 per cent. during the same period. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 21, 1957.)

Governor Advocates Multi-racialism

Sir Arthur Benson, the Governor, in the course of his address to the African representative Council, said: "What is important in our multi-racial society is to ensure that the colour of a man's skin does not matter. What we have to work for is voters of every race and creed going to the polls together to vote for the man, who, they believe, will look after their interests best, whether he is a white man or a black man. I believe we can achieve that happy solution. We must achieve it, because, unless we do, there will continue in this country and throughout the Federation the fear that Sir John Moffat spoke about—the fear that one race will try to dominate the other.

"You cannot remove this fear by saying there will be so many seats for Europeans and so many seats for Africans. If you say

that it will be logical to go on and say there will be so many seats for Asians (many of whom would like that to be provided), and that there will be so many seats for coloured people (who would like that very thing to be provided.)

"Why should we stop there? All men are not of the same race or tribe, and all white men are not of the same race or tribe. Should we say that there will be so many seats for the Lozi, so many for the Bemba, so many for the Ngoni, so many for the English, so many for the Greeks, so many for the Poles and Czechs?" (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 20, 1957.)

Opening the fourth session of the Legislative Council in Lusaka, Sir Arthur said Northern Rhodesia had not yet reached a position where the Governor was largely a constitutional figurehead, and where he was bound to accept the advice of his Ministers on every question. He said that during the past three years he had been exceptionally silent, principally because in what sometimes had been exceptionally difficult political circumstances, the Members of his Government had accepted in full, on all major questions, the principle of collective Cabinet responsibility in all matters which fell within the jurisdiction of the Government. "I wish to make it completely clear there has never yet—and I speak of the period of three years—been an occasion when a decision has been taken against the concerted views or wishes of the three unofficial members of the executive council who are also members of the Federal Party." (*The Times*, June 19, 1957.)

Sir Arthur Benson continued: "Three years ago the Council accepted very nearly unanimously, the following principle: 'The objective of policy in Northern Rhodesia must be to remove from each race the fear that the other might dominate for its own racial benefit, and to move forward from the present system of racial representation in the territorial legislature towards a franchise with no separate representation for the races.'

"It must logically follow that any special arrangements we may make about the number of seats to be reserved either for Europeans or Africans in the future will tend to run counter to this first principle of the Moffat Resolutions unless at the same time our franchise system is so designed as to ensure that this racial representation can disappear.

"The second principle which has been widely enunciated, and which has gained general acceptance, is that the Government of the territory and the conduct of the territory's affairs must remain in the hands of responsible men. Public speakers, Prime Ministers and others, have sometimes referred to 'civilized and responsible men.'

"In the question of civilization, and in the question of responsibility, the colour of a man's skin has no place whatsoever."

On the franchise, he said: "The yardstick which we must seek will, in fact, be a statement of the qualifications which the voters must have and of the influence which their votes carry; and it will be as well if I make the point here that any suggestion of universal adult suffrage is quite out of the question.

"Our third principle must be that the arrangements made for 1959 must be accepted by all as the arrangements which still will hold good many years hence; indeed, will hold good until the time when our fears have been removed and when the colour of a man's skin is no longer an important factor in the question of whether he is to be a member of the Legislative Council or not." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 27, 1957.)

Increased African Earnings

The *Rhodesia Recorder* reported that certain Africans in Northern Rhodesia are earning four-figure salaries. For practical purposes it is reckoned that Africans in the Rhodesias earn between £40 and £800 a year, and in Nyasaland between £20 and £800. Africans in the Federation have £100,000,000 a year to spend, and they want to spend it on quality goods rather than on Kaffir truck. (*Central African Post*, May 13, 1957.)

Southern Rhodesia

Revised Franchise Proposals

MR. R. S. GARFIELD TODD, the Prime Minister, announced new proposals which were based on the recommendations of the Tredgold Commission,* with certain amendments. The caucus of the United Rhodesian Party, Mr. Todd's party, have approved the proposals which will be submitted to the territorial Parliament.

Mr. Todd took his stand on the need to enfranchise some 6,000 Africans, such as teachers, medical orderlies, agricultural demonstrators, senior policemen and so on, who have education and a sense of responsibility, but who do not earn the requisite £20 a month to gain the vote under the present qualifications.

In the new proposals regard has been taken of the fear of many Europeans that the too liberal admission of Africans to the common roll could result in time in their swamping the European electorate. The Tredgold Commission recommended that to prevent this happening there should be what has come to be called "fractional vote" which could be applied to the low qualification voters. This has been rejected by the U.R.P. caucus—probably because the difficulty in implementing it and because it is better to have one man, one vote—in favour of limiting the number of low qualification voters to 20 per cent. of the whole roll. Mr. Todd said this would mean that if there were 80,000 people who could register under ordinary qualifications, there would be a chance for 16,000 Europeans (very low wage earners) and non-Europeans to enter by the special qualifications. He estimated that there were to-day some 10,000 Africans who had passed standard VIII or its equivalent, but not all would be over the requisite 21 years of age.

A new departure for the Colony's franchise is the proposal of a system of preferential voting. Under this system a voter has to indicate his first and second choice—or even third and fourth if there are this number of candidates. If no candidate obtains an absolute majority over all other candidates then the second (or third and fourth) votes are counted to give one candidate an overall majority. In other words, if in an election 1,000 votes were cast, one candidate would have to get at least 501 to win outright. If he got only 499 then the second choice votes would be counted so as to give one candidate the absolute majority. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 24, 1957.)

The proposals were welcomed by African leaders. Mr. S. Samkange called them "a gigantic step in the right direction." Mr. J. Savanhu, the African Federal M.P., said that the proposals went a long way towards making partnership a reality instead of a mere political slogan. He added that he felt the territorial proposals would strengthen the hand of Africans who wanted the Federal Government to follow an equally—if not more—liberal trend.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (June 24, 1957) commented: "Whatever the fate of the proposals in Parliament, however, a departure among them from the Tredgold recommendations will undoubtedly puzzle many people of all colours and political persuasions. It is the substitution of a percentage restriction on the number of voters in the 'special' category for the fractional system recommended by the Tredgold Commission. One advantage is that all voters who succeed in getting on to the roll will be on an equal basis—with one exception: voters in the special category will not be able to stand for Parliament. But the value of their votes will be exactly the same as those of ordinary voters and there will be no outward signs of discrimination such as different coloured ballot papers. . . .

"When the number of special voters reaches 20 per cent. of the ordinary voters on the total roll the category will be closed for all time. Even if, subsequently, the number of ordinary voters grow considerably the special category will not be reopened. Such a situation would, of course, quickly become so unjust as to be

* Digest IV, 6.

unendurable and could not be maintained without the possibility of militant reaction. In this important respect, therefore, the proposals can be regarded as no more than a palliative. . . .

"The second danger in the system arises from the fact that special voters will be restricted to 20 per cent. of the ordinary voters territorial roll, not 20 per cent. of ordinary voters on the roll of each constituency. Elaborate precautions by means of preferential voting are proposed to keep an extreme candidate from winning a seat in the event of a three-cornered contest. But what is to happen, for instance, in a progressive urban African area where Africans are advancing fast? In a constituency embracing such an area the number of special voters on the roll, each exercising a full vote, could outnumber the number of ordinary voters in the constituency. Territorially, the special voters might still be less than 20 per cent., but they would control that particular constituency."

In previous weeks, Mr. Todd has given a series of warnings on the danger of failing to solve the franchise question. In a debate in Parliament, on the Tredgold report, he said that progressive measures were needed before it was too late and "we find ourselves overwhelmed by the tides of black nationalism and world Communism." (*Central African Post*, May 1, 1957.)

At a meeting of the Inter-Racial Association, Mr. Todd had threatened to resign from his party unless legislation were passed enabling Africans who have had 10 years' education and who work as teachers, agricultural demonstrators, medical orderlies and so on, to vote. Mr. Todd said: "Southern Rhodesia finds itself the custodian of Rhodes' liberal dictum of equal rights for all civilized men, regardless of colour." He agreed completely with the Tredgold Commission when it said it must be made possible for every individual to "lead the good life and win a place in the sun." That belief did not conflict with the determination to maintain and safeguard European standards. But the time of adjustment was not easy, for, on one hand, Africans felt that all they wanted could be a free gift and did not recognize the need for patience and hard work, and that the national wealth must be quadrupled before many of the things for which they clamoured could be obtained in full.

On the other hand, there were Europeans who feared their standards and way of life were at stake and believed they must resist all plans to help the Africans. He urged the need for tolerance and understanding and said the people of Southern Rhodesia were in danger of becoming "a race of fear-ridden neurotics." He abhorred race antagonisms, and objected to party politics where racial questions were concerned.

He added: "If Rhodes had been with us through the years we would have advanced a great deal further as a nation than we have. The liberal outlook on which South Africa's future was to have been based was supplanted by racial policies which had all too far-reaching an effect in our own country." (*The Times*, June 17, 1957.)

Prime Minister on Responsibility for Africans

There were certain Africans, particularly in Salisbury, whose mouths would not be so wide open if they were carrying a bit more responsibility on their shoulders, said the Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd. He added: "We have only ourselves to blame for the fact that they have no responsibility, that they appear to be free to shout for greater privileges and better conditions without having to levy rates upon themselves, and demand more and better housing without having to pay for it." It was high time for the good of everyone, that the check and balance of democratic privilege with responsibility should be felt by African urban dwellers if it was found that they could assume this responsibility. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 25, 1957.)

Southern Rhodesian African National Congress

Mr. Robert Chikerema and Mr. George Nyandoro, both in their early thirties and principal leaders of the Southern Rhodesian African Youth League, announced their intention to revive the Southern

Rhodesian African National Congress. The Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, said that no action will be taken against the new Congress movement unless it resorts to subversion. But he added: "There are directing brains outside and behind this," and said its progress will be carefully watched by the Government. Mr. Chikerema said Africans are disillusioned by the failure of the Government to remove discriminatory laws, and of Whites generally to treat Africans as ordinary human beings, despite repeated protestations in support of the policy of racial partnership.

To the assertion that the new Congress will be "racialistic" in a country where the aim is to make party politics non-racial, Mr. Chikerema replied that political movements here are assumed to be racialistic if they are primarily African, but not if they are predominantly European. He insists that the Congress will not be anti-European. People of all races will be welcomed as members, provided they are sincerely liberal. (*The Observer*, June 9, 1957.)

Mr. C. L. Mzingeli, an African leader, said: "The African people do feel that they should have a National Congress like Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But they do not want one founded by the Youth League. I do not think that there will be any support from African leaders for this organization we have been promised—in fact, I personally doubt whether it will ever come into being."

Mr. R. W. Storey, Secretary of the Segregation Society, described it as "a step along the road to the bloodbath," and said: "We do feel that this has got to be proscribed right from the start. It is merely going to be a vehicle for further expression of African opposition which is not really the expression of what they feel, but merely the opinions of a few semi-educated Africans." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 6, 1957.)

Bill to Reduce "Pass" System

A Bill which would exempt certain Africans from all provisions of the pass laws, and which would abolish the pass system except in urban areas, was presented to the Southern Rhodesia Parliament by the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher.

The Bill provides that all African males of 16 and over shall continue to be registered. But the present registration certified would be replaced by registration books, which would contain a photograph of the holder. African women would be entitled to register.

Mr. Fletcher said in an interview that the Bill would place certain selected Africans on exactly the same footing as Europeans where the pass laws were concerned.

A new departure proposed in the Bill is for the issue of identity cards to certain classes of Africans prescribed by the Minister. These Africans would have to be at least 25, and have to satisfy the Minister of their "character record, qualifications and standing."

Holders of identity cards would be exempted from any regulations made by a local authority requiring Africans to be in possession of any pass. Identity cards will carry a photograph of the holder, but will not carry his personal particulars or the name of his employer.

Southern Rhodesian Africans would need permits to visit countries outside the Federation, but not if they wished to go to Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland.

Presentation of the Bill follows a controversy last year, when an African M.P., Mr. M. Hove, was required to present his registration certificate at a post office when claiming a registered parcel. (*Central African Post*, May 17, 1957.)

Industrial Conciliation Bill Attacked

The Federation of Rhodesian Industries, in a memorandum prepared for the Select Committee on the Industrial Conciliation Bill, said that the Bill made it possible for irresponsible persons to take control of industry and almost the control of the country by deliberately causing disputes. Multi-racial unions were desirable, but it was doubtful whether the Bill would be conducive to their establishment in many industries. The European feared that he would be swamped if his union were opened to the African. Multi-racial

unions might be acceptable if they were permitted to form their own racial branches. (*Umtali Post*, June 5, 1957.)

Low Housing Costs

The cost per square foot of houses in the home ownership scheme at New Highfield African Township is probably the lowest recorded in Africa—and possibly in the world—for present-day building of this type, according to a report on the scheme. The accounts show that 630 four-roomed cottages with flush lavatories and showers have been constructed, having a total area of 300,264 square feet, for a cost of £113,697, including departmental overheads. This is a cost of 7s. 6½d. a square foot.

Up to April 23, 2,360 houses had been completed and 1,893 sold. There were 3,203 applications to buy, 2,532 applications approved, and new applications average 24 daily. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 4, 1957.)

Nyasaland

Problems Over Opposition to Federation

THE Nyasaland African Congress called on the two African Federal M.P.s to resign from the Federal Assembly. The Congress letter said that the M.P.s are well aware that, when the Federation attains independence, the Protectorate status will automatically disappear, and adds that it shows political immaturity to believe that if the two M.P.s left the Federal Assembly "other unreliable Africans would take your place."

Mr. C. R. Kumbikano said that he would ignore the letter and continue in the Assembly. (*Nyasaland Times*, May 31, 1957.)

Mr. W. M. Chirwa said: "African leaders are totally agreed about their opposition to the Central African Federation. The only difference among chiefs, leaders and their followers is one of approach, timing and method. It is a difference of tactics, strategy and machinery to be employed in their objective of destroying the Central African Federation and achieving the goal of self-government." (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 13, 1957.)

Mr. Chirwa said he agreed with Mr. C. R. Kumbikano that they would ignore the Congress ultimatum and would continue to sit in the Federal Assembly. He added he and his colleagues would work constitutionally for their aims. He had the support of other influential leaders, including African M.L.C.s Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama, Mr. N. D. Kwenje, Mr. D. W. Chijozi, an ex-President-General of the Congress, Mr. J. S. Sangala, and the present Vice-Treasurer-General, Mr. J. Malifa. Some 20 of the Southern Province chiefs met and decided the Federal M.P.s should ignore the Congress demand. They called upon the Congress, whose executive, they claimed, were all from the Northern Province, not to interfere with the affairs of the Southern Province.

The Nyasaland Times (June 4, 1957) commented: "To say, some years ago, that Mr. Chirwa and his supporters would be classed as moderates would have caused great surprise. Yet this is the case today, and we feel this significant change, slow though it may have been, will bring encouragement to all those who have the welfare of this country close to heart."

"To prophesy in politics is always dangerous, but the events which have brought to light this division between moderates and extremists point to an eventual relaxation by the moderates in their opposition to Federation. Their strongest policy line today, which would be attractive to the chiefs as well as to many of the intelligentsia, would be a call for some measure of autonomy within the Federal set-up for Nyasaland as Southern Rhodesia now enjoys, with emphasis on multi-racial government. It would not be surprising if this policy line were adopted by those Africans who will stand as candidates for Nyasaland's two elected African seats promised in the reshuffle of the Federal Assembly."

Mr. H. B. Chipembere, M.L.C., appealed to Africans in Nyasaland to stand fast and organize. "Freedom is just around the corner and we must build a mass movement that will not disintegrate into fragments when the testing time comes. On a basis of peaceful organization and non-violence, let us demand our right to rule ourselves." Mr. Chipembere ridiculed "splinter" bodies being formed among Africans. (*Sunday Mail*, June 9, 1957.)

The Secretary-General of the African Congress, Mr. C. B. B. Kanchunjulu, in a letter to both the Federal M.P.s, Mr. Manoh Chirwa and Mr. C. R. Kumbikano, said: "In view of your continued willingness to remain in the Federal Assembly, you are officially expelled from the Nyasaland African Congress forthwith."

Cyril Dunn, writing for the *Observer Foreign News Service* (July 11, 1957), said: "African politicians here are not trying to minimize the importance of the news that Mr. Chirwa and Mr. Kumbikano have been expelled from the African National Congress of Nyasaland by a vote of its executive council. All they hope is that people overseas will not assume that Africans are now in two minds about their resolve to secede from the Federation."

"Undeniably there is a split with the forces of resistance. But it has been brought about, not by Africans who want to accept Federation, but by those who believe that it should be boycotted absolutely. The demand for Nyasaland's secession is, in fact, becoming more passionate and more extreme the more stubbornly it is repressed by European politicians, both here and in the United Kingdom, who insist that Federation has come to stay. . . . The Nyasaland decision cannot have been taken lightly. Mr. Chirwa has been the most powerful figure in Nyasaland politics since Federation and outstanding in his opposition to it. Many Africans, sketching in the future, name Mr. Chirwa as Prime Minister of a self-governing, primarily black Nyasaland. To appreciate what is going on here, one has to imagine what might have happened in the Gold Coast if the C.P.P. had expelled Dr. Nkrumah in the early days of its struggle for independence under his leadership."

"This crisis has been hovering on the horizon for some time now. Months ago a conference of the Northern Province of the Congress unanimously condemned Nyasaland's representation in the Federal Assembly. The resolution called it a stumbling block to African unity and something which prevented the world from taking Nyasaland's 'undying opposition to Federation' seriously."

"Some whites here are doing what they can to present the Nyasaland conflict as an intrigue for personal power and profit. It is a fact that in Central Africa a parliamentary career is the best-paid vocation open to ordinary Africans. It is therefore said that the motives of Mr. Chirwa and Mr. Kumbikano are entirely mercenary. But there is, of course, a strong altruistic case for Nyasaland African representation in the Federal Assembly. It is the best platform from which Federation may be attacked, and nobody could accuse either Mr. Chirwa or Mr. Kumbikano of ever putting it to any other use. Opposition from within Nyasaland itself would have a much smaller audience and might, in fact, go unheard."

"Moreover, if this were simply a battle for leadership one would expect to be aware of Mr. Chirwa's successor. But no one person is obviously competing for the throne. The policy of absolute boycott seems to come from a group of shrewd young men, not noticeably interested in personal aggrandizement, who believe that Nyasaland Africans should now concentrate all their efforts on winning political freedom within their own borders. And they see this, not as a tacit acceptance of Federation, but as the only way in which they may now hope to bring about secession."

When the resolution permitting the Federal Assembly to debate the Constitutional Amendment Bill was being discussed in the Legislative Council, the five African members walked out before the vote was taken, but after they had voiced their opposition to it, and to the Federation in general, the Secretary for African Affairs, Mr. J. H. Ingham, expressed regret that the Africans did not deal with the

debate in "a reasonable and sensible manner," for he felt the Bill would bring great political advancement to the Africans in Nyasaland through British protected persons being allowed to vote. The resolution was passed, with eleven official and six non-African unofficial members voting for it. (*Rhodesia Herald*, June 19, 1957.)

The African M.L.C.s, in a letter to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their meeting in London, claimed that Sir Roy Welensky, who was attending the conference, "carries no mandate of Africans, at least of Nyasaland." Their letter attacked the Federation and make-up of the Federal Assembly, and the "philosophy of partnership," which was dubbed *apartheid*. (*The Times*, June 25, 1957.)

Federalizing Non-African Agriculture

A Select Committee of the Legislative Council reported on the effects of federalizing non-African agriculture. It said that it was clearly the wish of the non-African farmers of Nyasaland, and "it would engender among them a feeling of confidence in their future. Whether this is justified or not, only time can tell."

The committee did not discount the possibility that if non-African agriculture were federalized, in the face of African opposition, labour troubles might result and discourage investment. It reported that nearly every non-African witness had stressed that the federalization of non-African agriculture will induce the necessary confidence in investors to provide the increased capital required for development generally and, in particular, for the provision of amenities to Africans.

The committee came to the conclusion that the status of, and future disposition of, land would not be affected by federalization, but it referred to the widespread African opposition on this point, as it was apparent the African could not, in his mind, separate the use of land from its ownership, nor could he differentiate between agricultural advisory service and the control of land. The committee felt that dislike of Federation lay behind most of this opposition.

The committee discounted the suggestions that there will be segregation through non-African and African areas, since African labour was needed by non-Africans. Neither would there be discrimination against Africans. It pointed to the advantages of the placing of non-African agriculture under Federal control, which Northern Rhodesia now enjoyed. (*Nyasaland Times*, May 7, 1957.)

The report was criticized by African members of the Legislative Council. Mr. N. D. Kwenje, who, together with Mr. J. R. Chinyama, had been a member of the Select Committee, claimed that they had had only about twelve hours to consider the draft report. Mr. Chinyama said he felt strongly that to federalize agriculture would do a great danger to the African chiefs and people.

In the course of evidence given to the committee, the following points were made: The Director of Veterinary Services, Mr. D. E. Faulkner, considered it uneconomic to bring cattle from Southern Rhodesia, replying to a point made that federalization would make it possible for local farmers to draw from the cattle bank. He said local stock was more suitable for conditions there than any cattle from the native areas of Southern Rhodesia. There would be duplication of animal health services, which at present were being rendered in the most economic way.

Mr. G. H. Spicer (Nyasaland Association) denied that all land on which agriculture was undertaken was primarily African, and reiterated that federalization would have no effect on the status of land. The African producer would benefit if the maize price went up because of federalization.

Chief Mwase (Central Province Provincial Council) said his council feared the encroachment of the Federal Government into Nyasaland. "The Europeans came here to settle and go into business. That does not mean to say that they have the right to take the land to sell it to other people," he said. He claimed it was very difficult to separate agriculture and land, because "you cannot have agriculture without land."

Chief Katumbi (Northern Province) said agriculture had not come on the concurrent list when the lists were drawn up, but might now be put on it, and he feared the same would happen to labour.

If non-African agriculture came under Federation, freehold land could not be bought by the Nyasaland Government to give to Africans. Federalization, he said, would give the Agricultural Department to the Federal Government, "meaning you are giving land to the Federal Government." "We are afraid that if we let anything go now, in the future things will alter and the land will go out of our hands," said Chief Msamala (Southern Province Provincial Council). The Europeans in the Nyasaland Government had taken over other departments and "quietly handed them over to the Federal Departments without saying anything to the Africans. We are complaining because we will never be able to rule the section which goes over to Federation," he added. (*Nyasaland Times*, May 10 and 17, 1957.)

Minimum Wage Rates

The minimum wage rates for workers paid by the day or hour have been raised for the first time since 1954. The minimum wage rates, which are inclusive of food, apply to all workers except domestic servants, caretakers, watchmen and others who work in broken periods. The new consolidated daily rate in Blantyre-Limbe will be 2s. instead of 1s. 4d.; in most other areas the minimum daily rate will be 1s. 3d. Employers who provide "proper and sufficient" food for a full day may deduct from the minimum wage. The deductions are from 6d. - 4d. per day. Deductions for only one cooked meal a day are from 4d. - 2d.

The Government notice lays down that the minimum wage of female employees over 16 and male employees from 14 to 18, of apparent age, will not be less than 75% of the adult male minimum wage applicable to the area. Male employees under 14 and females under 16 will receive 50%. A working day is eight hours, not including meal times.

Double time will be paid for work on Sundays or gazetted public holidays, or "any days which by custom of any occupation or undertaking are observed as rest days in lieu of Sundays or public holidays." (*Nyasaland Times*, April 12, 1957.)

Control of Trade Unions

A Bill which will enable the Registrar of Trade Unions to decline to register a trade union in certain circumstances, and which enables him to see union accounts are kept properly, was passed in the Legislative Council. The Commissioner for Labour, Mr. C. A. Collard, said the Registrar would have power not to register a trade union if another union already registered was sufficiently representative of the whole or most of the groups in which the applicant seeks registration. Existing unions may make objections to new registrations. The amendment also allows the Registrar to inspect accounts and to hold an inquiry into the financial standing of trade unions. Another section prohibits peaceful picketing of a man's house. (*Nyasaland Times*, May 11, 1957.)

Congress Membership

Challenging a statement made by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, that Congress could only claim 1,000 supporters, Mr. T. D. Banda, the Congress Secretary, said that they had 24,000 members in Nyasaland itself, 18,000 in S. Rhodesia, 15,000 in N. Rhodesia, 2,000 in S. Africa, and the balance scattered in Portuguese East Africa, U.K. West Africa and India. (*Nyasaland Times*, April 5, 1957.)

Mr. Hartwell Solomon, President of the Nyasaland African Republic Party, described Mr. Banda's claim as "very fantastic," and said that everybody knew the Congress had no money and was only kept alive by its Salisbury branch. Mr. Solomon broke away from the Congress and has now formed the African Republic Party.

EAST AFRICA

Debate on Royal Commission Report

THE East African Royal Commission Report was debated in the House of Commons (May 31, 1957). Mr. James Johnson summarized the Commission's findings as follows:—

"First, the Commission states that East Africa is poor; secondly, that the resources of East Africa are immense and can be vastly expanded; thirdly, that this expansion will come only if the African population turn over from their subsistence methods of farming to that of a cash economy, which can be done only with the assistance of outside capital and with European techniques and technical skills; and, lastly, that racial discrimination impedes this expansion, and that therefore all restrictions must go, even those aspects of State intervention which guard the indigenous peoples."

Mr. Johnson emphasized the need for capital investment, and hence for political stability. Referring to African land problems, he pointed out that since the white man went to Kenya the African's own methods of acquiring new land have gone. In the old days he fought for land or cut it out from the forest. Today he looks across from his boundaries and sees the white man's land. No African tribe clings to its land more tenaciously than do the Europeans in the White Highlands.

Mr. John Profumo, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said the approach of the Report itself to land was based on the question, "What is, economically, the best use of the small fertile areas in East Africa?" Their answer to this was that many existing practices were frustrating economic mobility and hampering incentives. Their basic recommendation is that the whole land problem should be treated as an economic and agricultural one, and not as a political one. The Government should concentrate not on who is to have the land, but on how it is best to be used.

He added: "There is no evidence to contradict the Governor's opinion that no tribe or other community is yet prepared, where it has land that is being misused or under-developed, to throw it open to development by other tribes or communities with less land."

Speaking of consolidation of African land in Kenya, Mr. Profumo said: "No one will become landless as the result of consolidation. It is true that in time there will be a number of people who cannot obtain land on which to farm because it would mean rendering an economic unit sub-economic. What is to happen to these people? First, there will be opportunities to work on consolidated land. Secondly, there will be opportunities caused by industrial and commercial development in the reserves and particularly in the townships, which in many cases are ripe for expansion and development. This it is true, will have to come about slowly, but eventually it will have an impact on the problem. Lastly, there will be a chance to work outside the reserves."

The Economist (June 8, 1957) commented: "Only because Mr. Johnson was successful in the ballot for private members' motions has the report of the Royal Commission on East Africa been debated even within two years of its appearance. The Governments of the territories did not like the radicalism of the proposals; the Colonial Office was equally coy; and clearly there is no greater liking for it from either party in the House of Commons, so far as may be judged from the speeches of those few members who stuck to the main point. There were obeisances to the Commission for its work, but no belief in its basic findings; and Mr. Profumo, for the Government, pronounced its death knell in his cosy declaration that all the East African Governments concerned were, in fact, getting on very well with land registration—so far as individual tribes were ready for it.

"No doubt this is true; but it will not generate the wind of economic freedom which the Commission hoped might sweep through the territory, blowing away tribal divisions, suspicions and land

reserves (including those round the White Highlands of Kenya), and turning African thoughts to the pursuit of wealth and betterment by individual effort and profit."

Kenya

Constitutional Reform

THE African elected members' campaign* for constitutional reform has continued. Stating their case in a letter to *The Times* (May 25, 1957), Mr. Tom Mboya said: "Our demand is for 15 more members. This is based on the areas of the constituencies, the population, the nature of the means of communication—roads, postal and literacy—and, of course, fairer proportion in relation to the representation of the Europeans and Asians. Granted these 15 more seats, we would have 23, as against 16 Europeans (this includes two corporate members), six Asians and one Arab, for populations of 6 million, 50,000, 150,000 and 25,000 respectively." He pointed out that the Asian elected members, the Indian Congress, the Muslim League and the Arab member had publicly issued statements supporting their demand.

The Times (July 5, 1957) reported that the European elected members of the Legislative Council had issued the following statement:—"Subject to the acceptance of certain conditions, and in conjunction with other constitutional changes, the European elected members are prepared to recommend some increase in African representation without a corresponding increase in the number of seats for other racial groups.

"We regard it as being axiomatic that any new constitution must include certain fundamental provisions which will ensure

- (i) that no racial group or combination of racial groups can dominate the other group or groups;
- (ii) that as any degree of self-government is introduced the Government will depend in the Legislature upon a measure of support from all races.

"The constitutional provisions required to effect these principles must be agreed upon and accepted as being binding before any further constitutional changes, including any increase in representation, can be effected. It is an essential element of any agreement that there is African participation in the Government and Council of Ministers. Any constitutional agreement must be regarded as binding for an agreed period long enough to ensure stability, and therefore such agreement must be recorded by each racial group as having been freely entered into.

"It is imperative and in the interests of all races that conditions must exist at all times which will encourage the confidence of investors in industry and agriculture in Kenya. Should any doubt arise overseas as to the stability or responsibility of the Government, it would imperil the whole economic future of the Territory."

Commenting on this statement, the *Kenya Weekly News* (July 5, 1957) said: "With everyone looking towards possible constitutional changes in 1960, this might be a case of 'everything now or nothing at all,' or, in effect, bring the 1960 showdown three years forward. The European members, on the other hand, have shown that they do not intend to rush into a decision on these vital issues; they are attempting to find some formula which will be the best for all races in the end. They are, perhaps, mindful of the old saw, 'Marfy in haste, repent at leisure.' It is the same with constitutional proposals which affect the lives of every individual, not only in these territories, but in all the countries of Africa. Whatever happens in Kenya during this critical period will have a bearing on the future stability of Africa right down to the boundary of South Africa. The European elected members are obviously aware of this."

In London, the *Economist* (July 13, 1957) reflected that: "The

Kenyan settlers are often, undoubtedly, recalcitrant; but it so happens that on this occasion they have made a not unreasonable offer. They are ready to concede the Africans' demand for more seats on a communal roll, provided that the African leaders will participate in the multi-racial Government in accordance with the Lyttelton agreement. The settlers have not specified how many additional African seats they would accept, but the proof of Mr. Mboya's statesmanship will be whether he will discuss their offer in principle. This will be the acid test of whether he is willing to take on responsibility for administration or whether all he wants is to build up a clamorous black opposition bench."

Mr. Tom Mboya, in a statement to the Press in London (July 19, 1957) said: "In Kenya the unofficial side of the Legislative Council is made up of the representatives of four racial groups: 14 European Members plus 2 Corporate Members (total 16); 6 Asians; 1 Arab; and 8 Africans. They represent populations of approximately: 50,000 Europeans; 250,000 Asians; 30,000 Arabs; and 6,000,000 Africans. This clearly indicates that the distribution of seats between races has been made in an arbitrary manner.

"Other examples of the arbitrary distribution of seats are:

| | Rift Valley | | Coast Province | | Nairobi | |
|--------------|-------------|------|----------------|------|---------|------|
| | Pop. | Rep. | Pop. | Rep. | Pop. | Rep. |
| European ... | 8,500 | 3 | 3,000 | 2 | 20,000 | 3 |
| African ... | 700,000 | 1 | 500,000 | 1 | 120,000 | 1 |

"Yet another example is to be found in the distribution of seats in the African constituencies themselves. Nyanza Province with a total African population of 1,000,900 has three representatives, whereas Central Province with an African population of 2,000,000 has only one representative.

"There can be no question therefore but that the African Members' case for increased representation is justified both by the disproportionate allocation of seats between the racial groups, and the arbitrary and illogical distribution of seats in relation to the density of population in the various constituencies.

"The African case is supported by the Asian Elected Members and Ministers, the Arab Members and the Indian Congress and the Muslim League, without any condition being attached. On the other hand the European Members for some time refrained from expressing any opinion and said that the African Elected Members had refused to meet any of the other racial groups for discussion. As early as March and April, 1957, the Africans had discussions with the Asians and Arabs. The only meeting that has taken place between Europeans and Africans was the result of the willingness expressed by the Africans to H.E. the Governor that such consultations should take place. The subsequent meeting, the only one held, revealed that the Europeans as a group had never studied the Africans' case for increased representation. It was therefore decided that after they had done so a further meeting should be held.

"Contrary to this agreement the European Members issued a statement on July 5 despite the fact that on three occasions the African Members approached them in connection with the second meeting.

"In their statement the European Members laid down conditions to be accepted by the Africans before they could consider in detail the unilateral increase in African representation. These conditions included prior agreement from the Africans that they would join the Government; a further agreement that they would accept a standstill period during which no further constitutional reforms would take place, and lastly, the stipulation that no change which might occur would enable one group or a combination of more than one group to dominate over other groups or another single group.

"The African Elected Members are unable to accept any standstill agreement as they cannot commit their successors as to future policies. The European Elected Members' statement is contradictory. It claims to concede for the first time a departure from the age-old parity as between Europeans and non-Europeans, but says at the same time that, whatever constitutional arrangements are introduced,

* DIGEST IV, 6.

no racial group or combination of racial groups must dominate. This attitude defeats the spirit of concession that many people have been led to believe the Europeans have shown in their statement.

"The African members hold that a case exists for increased African representation, and that other racial groups in Kenya wishing to create harmony and understanding should recognize this fact and act accordingly. The African members do not overlook the fact that the fears and suspicions of the other racial groups would require certain safeguards, particularly in the transitional period of the country's development. But our view is that such safeguards should be the subject of major constitutional discussions which can be, and should be separate from the demand that has been put forward for increased representation.

"The African Members have explained clearly that their objection to the Lyttelton constitution should not be interpreted as unwillingness to co-operate with the Government and the other racial groups after an acceptable constitution has been negotiated.

"In a statement on March 18, African members made it perfectly clear that their objective would be to create in Kenya a society in which all individuals enjoyed equal rights and opportunities. This remains their goal. It is evident from the European Elected Members' statement that the goals of the two communities differ. Hence the African Elected Members believe that the time has come when a definite declaration must be made by the British Government, and accepted by all communities, as to the ultimate form of government and society to be created in Kenya. It is fundamental that in making such a statement of aim, due recognition is paid to the fact that Kenya has a predominantly African population."

Mr. Blundell's Views

Sharing a platform with an African elected member of the Legislative Council, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Michael Blundell, said: "It is the government's policy to proceed with the steady and sure development, not only of the people in Kenya, but also of the country. This means giving to every citizen in it as great an opportunity as possible for advancement and the raising of his standard of living. This must mean over the course of many years the gradual adjustment of the differences of habit, thought and speech amongst our people, and the creation of a Kenya citizen whose background is one of British traditions and western civilization. I do not think for one moment that this process need only be carried out by Europeans; indeed, we shall eventually produce a country where the great majority of our people, whatever their origin, race or background, will carry forward these standards and ideals. Our eventual aim must be the easier movement of our people together and the solving of the differences and barriers between us.

"I believe that the great majority of the European community support this general aim and objective of the Government. Amongst this majority, such differences as there are—and they do exist—stem not from disagreement on the objective itself, but often on differing opinions about the timing.

"I know that many Africans feel that when we use the words, 'Government must remain in stable and responsible hands' we refer only to Europeans. I do not think this is the truth for one moment. We mean that we wish the Government of this country to remain at all times in the hands of persons who are capable of running a modern state, inspiring confidence in the future of that state, and looking after the rights of all peoples in it, with a firm foundation of British ideals upon which to work. It is obvious, I think, that such a Government need not only be composed of Europeans and that as our general policy develops others will increasingly have the opportunity to share in it."

He added that "if this country is to go forward, it is the responsibility of its political leaders to create conditions where responsibility of its political leaders to create conditions where investment in the resources of the country is encouraged, not only through the savings of our own people, but the savings from other people overseas. Any

threat to political stability must affect our economic development. It is not only our money which is affected, it is the money from people from overseas who will be doubtful of investing in a country whose political future appears to be turbulent. Thus political tranquility is really an essential for the development of the country which alone can produce the educated people capable in their turn of running the country and continuing its development.

"We have been told that unless political demands are met, tranquility will not be achieved—indeed, that the conditions for economic development cannot be divorced from the necessity to meet the political demands and needs of the people of this country. I think that investors overseas may well ask when and where tranquility is to be achieved. They may well suspect that the demands of today may become the stepping-stone of tomorrow. Nor is greater political activity necessary to achieve political changes in the country. Let us look at the historical record. Our country, Kenya, was the first in East Africa to have African representation on the unofficial side of the House. In 1956 this representation was increased after friendly consultation between all races represented in the Legislature. We were the first country in East, Central and South Africa to have an African minister in our Government, at a time when a number of the African people, the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, were engaged in trying to overturn Government. This again was increased in 1956 by agreement between the races to two African Ministers. We were also the first country in East Africa to have African elected members—indeed, the present elected members owe their position to the agreement which arose from talks with all groups, now called the Lyttelton Plan. Surely this record shows that African views, if quietly and sensibly presented, can be discussed in a friendly way, and action taken as in the past.

"I think that moderate men of all races may well ask why were the present demands of the African members put to the Government without the offer of discussion between the other races. It is true that this stand has lately been modified, and indeed we are told that we were under a misapprehension. That may be so, but again against this historical record, why is it necessary every week to have constant meetings either in the country or in our urban centres, hammering at a single and often racial point of view. Again why was it necessary almost at the very moment when the African and European Elected Representatives had agreed to meet and discuss the views of the African members, to announce a delegation to the United Kingdom in order to influence British opinion? I must record that the meeting with the European Elected Members was friendly and sympathy was expressed for African ideas and wishes. It must seem to moderate people that these manoeuvres—constant political meetings, a delegation to the United Kingdom—look uncommonly like an attempt to influence talks in advance by the threat of constitutional pressure and force.

"I want to make it quite clear than in a country of many communities Government must exercise its responsibilities for all, and it cannot, and will not, give way to political pressure on constitutional matters. To do so today for one group must set an example for any other group, and if the people of this country are to have confidence in its Government and its future, then changes, especially major changes, in our constitutional situation must be based upon the reasonable agreement of the representatives of each community.

"I want to suggest strongly today, especially in view of our success in the past in seeing each others points of view, that the way ahead must lie on the path of friendly discussion, the capacity to give and take and a real understanding of each others basic needs and fears. In particular I would like to emphasize to any group which wishes to achieve changes that they should set about removing the fears and doubts of other communities that such changes will have results which may destroy their interests and set about assuring them that they are not to be followed by still more sweeping demands.

"In that connection I would like to ask whether methods recently

used at large meetings in Nyanza and Kisumu, the weekly political meetings in Nairobi, and the tone of speeches which have been made are likely to achieve an atmosphere in which moderate men of all races can meet together with a view to finding a solution. The Government of this country is bound to consider the views of all groups where wide changes in the constitution are envisaged.

"In 1960, in any event, we have to review the present situation and I believe that it is almost impossible for the major groups not to raise longer-term constitutional considerations if extensive changes are desired at the present time. It seems to me that today is quite a landmark. (Text of speech made on June 18, 1957.)

Need for African Political Organizations

A motion urging that existing restrictions on the formation of a Colony-wide political organization should be relaxed in view of the gradual improvements in the Emergency situation has been rejected by the Government.

An amendment moved by the Chief Secretary, Mr. Turnbull, and accepted by the Legislative Council, welcomed the improvement in the Emergency situation, but put forward the view that the relaxation which had been called for would not be in the interests of the security and stability of the country.

Mr. T. Mboya, who tabled the motion, said it was evident that the Government machinery was not capable of interpreting African opinion to the Legislative Council or the country. A freely organized African political organization was the only channel through which African feeling could be brought out forcefully and effectively. Mr. Mboya said it was difficult to see how African Elected Members were expected to represent their people in the interests of the country if they had no forum through which Colony-wide African opinion could be correlated and co-ordinated into a responsible force. (*East Africa Standard*, June 7, 1957.)

Mr. R. G. Turnbull, the Chief Secretary, said that so great had been the pervasion of the Kenya African Union by Mau Mau that during the last year or two of the Union's life it was little more than a pseudo-respectable front for a terrorist and subversive organization. That was why the Government had proscribed it.

The scheme for development of African political organizations which the Government had proposed would provide for the centre to be supplied and nourished from the districts and from the constituencies, rather than an arrangement whereby all the power resides in the centre and directions were issued from the centre outwards to the constituencies. He said that what they had in mind was that after the establishment of district associations the next step should be the formation of some kind of constituency organization. There was no intention that district associations should be designed as, or should take the form of, tribal associations. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 27, 1957.)

Restrictions on African Meetings

The Government announced that because of the disturbing effects of recent inflammatory speeches certain restrictions on African political meetings had been introduced. The law relating to the issue of licences for and the conduct of African political meetings would be strictly enforced. It would be made a condition of any licence issued in future for such meetings that if the authorities so decided the proceedings would be recorded on tape recorders in order that there should be an incontestable record of what is said.

The responsibility for the proper conduct of such meetings would rest on the principal participant. The issuing authority would decide, in its discretion, in each case whether guest speakers from outside a constituency might be allowed to speak at an African political meeting. Permission for collections would not ordinarily be withheld where the purpose of the collection was lawful, but permission must be obtained before a collection is made. (*Colonial Office Press Release*, June 12, 1957.)

The police stopped a meeting of Mr. Tom Mboya because of a breach of the new regulations. Mr. Mboya went to Government House to protest. When the meeting started there were nearly 2,000 people in the hall, the capacity of which is limited to 700. Senior police officers said the meeting could not start until the numbers had been cut to 700. For nearly two hours Mr. Mboya, some of his associates and police officers tried to find a solution after it had become obvious that the audience would not leave.

Mr. Mboya, after his return from Government House, spoke in Swahili and said that he had registered his protest against the insistence of the police in restricting the numbers to 700. "I also told the private secretary that this restriction would constitute a ban on all African meetings because this is the largest hall in Nairobi," he said.

He said that he repeated the request to hold African meetings in the open air—in the African Stadium—and that unless the Government allowed this there would in effect be a ban on African public meetings. (*East African Standard*, June 10, 1957.)

Africans in Local Government

A motion that a select committee should be set up to review the method of appointing African representatives and the adequacy of such representatives on local government bodies, was defeated by 36 votes to 11 in the Legislative Council.

The motion was proposed by Mr. T. Mboya (Nairobi) who stated that it was often said that training in political responsibility lay at the local government level, where Africans could acquire experience in government and administration generally.

African representation on local government bodies in Kenya was completely inadequate. On Nairobi City Council, for example, there were 19 Europeans, seven Asians, three Arabs, and two Africans. Nakuru Municipal Board had 11 Europeans, four Asians and three Africans and Kisumu, seven Europeans, five Asians and two Africans. None of the members of Kisumu Board was elected at the moment.

The Minister for Local Government, Health and Housing, Mr. Havelock, said it was the general trend to increase African representation on local government bodies and especially on those which had mixed membership.

Mr. Havelock had no objection in principle to Africans being elected provided they had a lasting and definite interest in the work concerned. However, he did not think they should rush into elections, because they would take quite a lot of organizing.

But the Government could not accept the motion because it did not feel it was a suitable subject for a select committee to investigate. In Kenya there was established a ministerial system, and it was the Minister who must be responsible for matters within his portfolio.

"It is my intention, as far as I can, to exclude politics from local government bodies," he said.

Numbers and Conditions of Detainees

The Minister for Defence, Mr. Cusack, told the Legislative Council that the number of persons detained under Emergency Regulations was 26,181 on April 30, 1957.

Up to that date 2,476 detainees had appealed to the Advisory Committee on Detainees, and 1,262 were released on the advice of that committee. A further 45,663 persons had been released as the result of normal rehabilitation and other processes. The Minister said there was only one Asian detainee, all the rest were Africans.

Mr. Cusack said detainees who wished to appeal to the tribunal were informed of the material on which they had been detained and were given every assistance by prisons and rehabilitation staff where this was required in preparing their appeals. (*East African Standard*, May 17, 1957.)

Mr. John Stonehouse (Labour) speaking in the House of Commons (June 5, 1957) raised the case of Richard Achieng Oneko who is

detained at the Takwa detention camp on Mageta Island, Mr. Stonehouse said: "He has been imprisoned in Kenya since the end of 1952, more than four-and-a-half years ago. Numerous appeals have been made for his release. There is great concern in Kenya, and, indeed, in this country, about the number of detainees who are imprisoned without any charges being brought against them.

"By giving individual consideration to cases such as that of Achieng Oneko, the Secretary of State will show the humanity and sympathy which is so badly needed in the responsibilities which he exercises on behalf of us all in this country."

After standing trial with Jomo Kenyatta and others, Achieng Oneko was acquitted of all the charges against him and, in his summing up, the judge referred to his good character.

Mr. Stonehouse also referred to "the extreme pressure being brought on Achieng, in a variety of ways, to confess to crimes he did not commit. The rehabilitation officials in Kenya have even gone so far as to write to friends of Achieng in this country appealing to them to persuade Achieng to confess. What possible right has an official in Kenya to assume the guilt of a man who has been acquitted of all charges by the highest court in Kenya?"

In reply, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. John Profuma, said Mr. Achieng Oneko was one of a group of more prominent detainees who played some part in public life before the emergency. These men were all detained, not because of this prominence, but because the Governor considered that control over them was necessary for the maintenance of public order. Oneko held high office in the Kenya African Union, which was proscribed in June, 1953, for its deep involvement in Mau Mau. When his appeal to the Supreme Court was allowed, a passage in the judgment said: "We have grave doubts that the evidence establishes with sufficient certitude that Achieng was a member of Mau Mau, although we were satisfied . . . that he was sympathetic to Mau Mau."

Mr. Profumo added: "The Governor and his Advisory Committee have all the facts at their disposal locally, including a close knowledge of the state of law and order, and are fully satisfied of the need for his detention." He said that it was not the policy of the Kenya Government to stimulate confessions. Such a practice, in fact, was entirely against the established policy, which is that a confession to have any effect must, of course, be entirely voluntary.

The Development Programme *

Mr. W. E. Crosskill, said in the Legislative Council that the statistics of the national income showed that the Government was on the right lines in its plan for increased development, but there should have been more boldness in planning for the future, particularly as far as roads and African education were concerned. If loan money was not forthcoming for development the Minister of Finance should reduce taxation to encourage saving. After consolidated land had been put into good shape it should be developed by loans and not grants. (*East African Standard*, April 12, and May 17, 1957.)

The Kenya Government's proposals to spend £30,000,000 during 1957-58 were criticized at the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce. It was out of place at a time when the country was moving towards a minor recession.

Mr. Tom Mboya urged better provision for higher education of Africans, a law school at Makerere, and the grant by that university college of full medical degrees. "The African community," he continued, "fully appreciates some of the benefits that have come to them as a result of the implemation of the Swynnerton Plan."

Large sums of money were being spent on military and police buildings and closer administration, but political problems would not be solved by these means. Government knew that the root cause of

political instability was political dissatisfaction. Money should not be spent on the Kenya Regiment unless it became an all-races regiment. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 6, 1957.)

Race Discrimination in Hotels

Mr. R. G. Turnbull, the Chief Secretary, told the Legislative Council that the Government was very happy to accept a motion from an African elected member urging them to take all necessary steps towards the elimination of all forms of discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and other public places.

Mr. Muliro, who proposed the motion, and other African members complained that they and other leading Africans had been refused service in certain establishments, although others were "good."

Mr. Turnbull said the Africans had a real grievance—one which must be remedied. The Government, he said, knew of many instances in which well-bred, well-dressed, educated Asians, Arabs and Africans had been subjected to thoughtless and cavalier treatment in hotels and restaurants. The Government deplored it just as much as did African members. (*The Times*, June 14, 1957.)

Civil Servants—Pressure Against Trade Unions

Allegations that Government officials and the police instilled fear into the African civil servants to try to stop them joining the Kenya African Civil Servants' Association were made by the General Secretary of the Association, Mr. M. J. Seroney, when he presented his report yesterday to the annual conference in the Starehe Hall, Nairobi.

The Government had given assurances that its policy was to encourage African civil servants to join, and play an active part in, staff associations, but little was being done to impress this policy on departmental officials, officers of the Administration or the police. (*East African Standard*, April 4, 1957.)

Base in Kenya

The Times (June 25, 1957) commented: "From Mr. Sandys's statement on arrival in London from his tour of Aden, Kenya and Libya, it can be inferred that the project for a base in Kenya will be pressed forward. The new strategy, as outlined in the Defence White Paper, relies on the use of big transport aircraft of a range that is always increasing. The defence and policing of overseas territories will, therefore, be carried out chiefly by the mobile strategic reserve, based in the United Kingdom. The time-honoured chain of scattered British garrisons will cease to exist, but it will not be possible to do away entirely with intermediate bases. It is not only a question of staging points. The Kenya emergency gave proof, if any were needed, that European troops do need training and acclimatizing in tropical climates if they are to be plunged into jungle or desert warfare. The Kenya base meets both these needs. To establish it will cost money. The cost of housing a weak brigade is estimated at £8,000,000 and there will be all the expenses of maintenance. The Mau Mau emergency also proved that considerable outlay is needed on welfare if European units are to be stationed in Kenya. . . .

"Correspondence in *The Times* has shown that the establishment of a base in Kenya will be welcomed by the European settlers. There have also been signs that it will be opposed by African nationalists. Although the reason for stationing troops are purely military, they may have political consequences and these consequences cannot be written off by pointing out that the base should provide an added market for Kenya's agricultural produce. It would be a grave error if the presence of European troops should cause, even indirectly, any relaxation of efforts to work towards satisfactory political solutions."

* DIGEST IV, 4 and 6.

Tanganyika

The Ministerial System *

A MINISTERIAL system of Government was introduced in July. The Minister for Constitutional Affairs is Mr. John Fletcher-Cooke, who has been in the Colonial Service in Malaya, Palestine and Cyprus. Mr. John Sydney Richard Cole, Q.C., Attorney-General and Member for Legal Affairs in Tanganyika since September last, remains Attorney-General. Mr. Charles Edward Tilney, who has been Member for Finance and Financial Secretary in Tanganyika from 1953, is Minister for Finance and Economics. The Minister for Natural Resources is Mr. Arthur Edwin Trotman, who has been responsible for this subject since 1951. Mr. Frederick Herbert Page-Jones, who has been Member for Local Government since 1953, is Minister for Local Government and Administration. Mr. Andrew Hamilton Pike, who has been Member for Lands and Mines for the past four years, now becomes Minister for Lands and Mineral Resources.

Mr. John Philip Attenborough becomes Minister for Social Services. Colonel William Lancelot Rolleston is Minister for Communications and Works. He went to Tanganyika as Executive Officer (Development) in 1950. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 27, 1957.)

Elections in All Constituencies

Following the withdrawal of the Bill which would have provided for elections in four only of the nine projected constituencies, a new Bill was passed on May 28, 1957, which provides for elections to the Legislative Council in all constituencies during the life of the new Council. Elections will be held in about five constituencies in 1958 and in the remainder in 1959. The staggering is for purely administrative reasons. All the African and Asian members voted for the Bill. Two of the unofficial European members were in opposition. All unofficial seats will be filled by elected members. (*The Times*, May 30, 1957.)

T.A.N.U. Ban May Be Lifted **

Public meetings of the Tanganyika National African Union have been banned for some months; meetings of members only have been allowed in suitable halls, but not in the open. On June 10 the Government stated that it was anxious to permit the maximum freedom compatible with the preservation of law and order, and that it is carefully considering whether, and if so, under what conditions, it can once more safely grant permits for open air public meetings to the leaders of T.A.N.U.. (*The Times*, June 11, 1957.)

U.T.P. Appeal to Britain *

A delegation of officials of the United Tanganyika Party which visited Britain in March and April has expressed acute disappointment at what they felt was a lack of appreciation of the issues at stake in Tanganyika. The U.T.P. has, therefore, issued a memorandum which has been sent to the chairmen of the Conservative and Labour Parties, in which a plea is made for a bi-partisan approach to Tanganyikan problems. It is urged that there should be agreement between the two parties in the essentials of policy towards the Territory, otherwise there will be distrust about the future among the indigenous and immigrant population.

The U.T.P. points out that the immigrant communities have done much for the development of the Territory, and that they must be regarded as belonging to the Territory, where some of their families have been settled for generations. It is suggested that it is morally wrong to accept the contention of Africans who follow a nationalist-racial doctrine that they should have the right to "rule or misrule."

* DIGEST IV, 6.

** DIGEST IV, 6.

* DIGEST IV, 6.

The two principle movements in Tanganyika are the T.A.N.U. and the U.T.P. Both are movements which are pledged to work for self-government and independence. "But T.A.N.U. is a racist movement based on a colour bar in reverse, with only African members," says the statement, adding that the U.T.P. is a multi-racial party with no colour bar, but since the population is mostly African the majority of its 59 per cent. members are African, 31 per cent. are Asian, and nine per cent. are European.

The statement claims that the feeling of many responsible Africans and leaders of immigrant opinion is that if British M.P.s wish to see the Africans developing on politically responsible lines, and recovering economic advancement is that they should realize that this can only happen by means of genuine multi-racial co-operation, which has more chance of success in Tanganyika than in the rest of Africa.

Trusteeship Council of the U.N. Discusses Tanganyika

On June 18 the Council heard a statement by Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, President of T.A.N.U., in which he said that he feared that British policy might result in the African majority in Tanganyika being ruled by a government dominated by an immigrant minority. Since 98 per cent. of the population was African, this meant that Tanganyika must become primarily an African state. Under the present constitution the representative side of the Council was composed of 10 Africans, 10 Europeans and 10 Asians, meaning that 98 per cent. of the population had 10 seats and 20 per cent. had 20 seats. T.A.N.U. wanted 16 African seats and 16 non-African ones; a mild proposal which had been fiercely attacked by the U.T.P. He attacked the franchise proposals for the 1958-59 elections, which would mean that only a tiny fraction of the Africans would have a vote, compared with the vast majority of the non-Africans who would qualify for a vote.

The T.A.N.U. was not revolutionary, but believed in the gradual achievement of Tanganyika's independence in "perhaps 10 to 12 years."

The United Kingdom's special representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, and the regular representative, Sir Andrew Cohen, replied. The whole purpose of holding the new elections was to obtain the best possible representative members of the Legislative Council. The franchise proposals would broaden the African electorate, and as the basis of the entire eligible electorate the African voters would be in a very substantial majority over all other races. Referring to Mr. Nyerere's complaints about the restrictions on his holding mass public meetings, it was said that the Government was perfectly satisfied that there would have been a grave risk of a breach of the peace if more speeches (similar to those in the past) had been permitted elsewhere in the Territory.

Answering a question, Mr. Nyerere stated that T.A.N.U.'s membership was between 150,000 and 300,000 and was growing rapidly. Between 1955 and mid-1957 the number of branches had increased from 25 to 48.

The Indian Representative said he felt there could be an immediate extension of the franchise in the territory. Indian experience showed that illiteracy need not be a bar to the vote; a 100 million illiterate people had voted in India in 1957, and they had done so with common sense.

In Tanganyika where the rural communities had long traditions of electing their chiefs, there was every reason to grant universal suffrage with only age and residential qualifications.

In a final statement, Sir Andrew Cohen emphasized that the U.K. recognized that the majority of the population was African, and recognized the implications of that fact. Generally speaking, the African population recognized the value of the immigrant communities which produce over 50 per cent. of the revenue on which depended the development of social and other services. The U.K. was seeking to build up a non-racial, rather than a multi-racial society.

The U.K. was aware of the pressing need for capital development, and since 1946 direct grants to Tanganyika under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts had totalled over £9,000,000.

Government Comments on Mr. Nyerere's Speech

The Tanganyikan Government has published a pamphlet criticizing a speech made by Mr. Nyerere, the President of T.A.N.U., to the U.N. Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, on December 20, 1956.

Mr. Nyerere is accused of leaving the impression that so far little or no progress had been achieved in building up the economy and institutions of Tanganyika towards the eventual aim of self-government. In reply, the Government has provided a statistical appendix to the pamphlet from which the following have been extracted:—

- (1) % of Territorial Budget expended on the Social Services.
Education: 1938—4.8%, 1946, 6.3%, 1950—9.1%, 1955-56—14.9%.
Medical: 1938—10.2%, 1946—8.4%, 1950—8.8%, 1955-56—9.3%.
Total Social Services (including above):—
1940 (?)—1951—8.7%, 1952-1955-56—13.2%.
- (2) Number of Schools: Primary, Middle, Secondary, Teacher Training and Technical and Vocational:—
African: 1938—1,024, 1946—1,279, 1955—2,780.
- (3) Number of Pupils: Primary, Middle, Secondary, Teacher Trainees, Technical, Vocational and Higher Education:—
African: 1938—86,886, 1946—119,262, 1955—345,940.
- (4) Effect of increasing wealth on Mean Wage Rates: Shillings per month.
Skilled: 1947—85/-, 1950—140/-, 1955—200/-.
Unskilled: 1947—19/-, 1950—35/-, 1955—77/-.

While it is true that education is largely on a racial basis, this is inevitable for both historical and financial reasons, and when these reasons lose their validity there will be a steady process towards a single system. This has already been done at Makerere, at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and at the Technical Institute in Dar-es-Salaam, so far as it has come into operation.

Mr. Nyerere had demanded universal primary education for African children, but in Dar-es-Salaam it was difficult to fill all the African school vacancies available and elsewhere in the Territory the greatest efforts had often to be made to persuade African parents to send their children to school and to combat absenteeism and wastage. Non-African parents, since 1949 had accepted the burden of the cost of education in so far as that cannot be met from the general revenue (to which they are the major contributors), by paying a special education tax and a much higher scale of fees. With some notable exceptions, such as the Chagga tribe, very few African communities had hitherto been prepared to make the same effort and sacrifice as non-Africans.

Mr. Nyerere had said that the process of land alienation was being speeded up. The Government reply is that "the total of alienations to date is only approximately 3,300,000 acres, or about one-and-a-half of the area of the territory and, except in a very few instances, where objections by the Native Authorities have been overruled in the public interest, all alienations since the war have been with the consent, and often with the enthusiastic support, of the local authority and people."

An impression had been intended to be created that all the vast majority of Tanganyikan Africans were adherents of Mr. Nyerere when, in fact, the total paid-up membership of T.A.N.U. was less than 2 per cent. of the population, though that number cannot be verified since the Union officials concerned have, even at their own annual general meeting, been unable to produce a statement of accounts showing the amount of subscriptions received.

The Government deny that there has been little progress in the general development of Local Government, and publish an appendix giving the details of constitutional changes at the Centre and in Local Government from 1938 to 1955 to prove that progress has been made in both spheres of Government.

Chief Thomas Marealle of the Chagga tribe, and formerly a leading member of the Tanganyika African Association (predecessor of the T.A.N.U.) also addressed the Trusteeship Council. Commenting on his views the *Kenya Weekly News* (June 28, 1957) said that all except the extreme African nationalists and the most die-hard non-Africans would find themselves broadly applauding much of what Chief Marealle said. "Perhaps first and foremost he expressed the view that, given certain essential pre-requisites, Tanganyika could be self-governing in 10 or 15 years' time. The pre-requisites were, broadly speaking, a realistic partnership basis, sound economic planning and political stability. He laid particular emphasis on capital for more effective exploitation of resources without which political development would be liable to outpace progress in all other fields and the territory would end in political or economic ruin."

"On the controversial subject of education, he said that the present system (that is separate European, Asian and African systems) was politically undesirable, expensive and wasteful, but he had the understanding to admit that divergencies in social habits had been a real problem, which was perhaps less so now than before. He felt, however, that with the steadily increasing number of educated parents, there had emerged a background against which a more enlightened educational policy could be based."

"It should be generally known that it is planned to start a non-racial school, privately endowed, which will provide for boys of any of the three races whose parents are ready and able to pay for the kind of education and boarding which it is intended to provide—it is, at any rate, a matter which has been spoken of openly for some months past, although no pronouncement on the subject has, as yet, come from official sources."

"On the matter of time tables for self-government, Chief Marealle felt that if a time-table were to be worked out, laying down certain conditions to be fulfilled by the ward and guardian respectively, it would be a challenge to both, and each would know where the fault lay if the aspired goal was not reached within a given time. He very wisely added that, in the absence of any such plan, the Administering Authority in Tanganyika is taking far more than its fair share of the cane—a very shrewd comment which, one might have thought, would have dawned on the British Government earlier. . . .

"According to a pronouncement in the *Tanganyika Standard* by Mr. Brian Willis, the general director of the U.T.P., on the subject of Chief Marealle's address, one of the subjects which is to be discussed by his party is the very question of time-tables, which they consider to be psychologically important, provided they are realistically based. There is more than a lurking suspicion that the persistent refusal of Britain to consider such a thing is, in itself, a psychological reluctance on the part of the Secretary of State to climb down from the position which he took up when the recommendation was first made by the Trusteeship Council. . . .

"On the subject of the African nationalists, Chief Marealle again had sound views to propound. . . . He suggested that it was rather too much to expect what he termed as African political amateurs to give up extremism overnight when more experienced people were clinging to it across the borders, and he suggested that a more tolerant attitude towards African nationalism would pay, for intolerance would only harden extremist ideas and make the task of building a nation out of the many tribes and races a very difficult one.

The *Kenya Weekly News* concluded its comment: "It is only by the emergence of such men that we can hope to see the decline

of narrow racialism and the increasing co-operation of all races in the struggle that is before us to surmount the truly terrifying difficulties which lie ahead of us on our path towards maturity and nationhood."

Uganda

Direct Elections for Legislative Council

The Government announced that direct elections to choose the African representatives to the Legislative Council would be held in 1958 throughout the whole country. The following are the proposed qualifications for the African roll:—

Every voter must be 21 or over, have residential qualifications in the constituency, and, in addition, either be an owner or genuine occupier of land; or be able to read and write in the vernacular or have long public service or long-paid employment in agriculture, commerce or industry; or have an income of £100 a year or more or property worth £400 or more. Candidates should be at least 27 years old; be able to speak, write and read English; be a registered voter; and have an income of at least £200 a year, or property worth at least £700.

It is expected that about 80 per cent. of the adult males and from 10 to 20 per cent. of the adult females in Buganda will be enfranchised by these proposals; the proportion will be rather less than in other areas. At present the Legislative Council comprises 60 members; 30 members on the Government side and 30 on the representative side, of whom 18 are Africans and 12 Europeans and Asians. The representative members are at present elected indirectly.

The date for the introduction of direct elections on a common roll is still 1961. There are expected to be special provisions for the representation of non-African communities. The Uganda National Congress has announced that it will fight these provisions and any other attempt to allow political rights to minorities beyond that of one man one vote. (*The Times*, June 29, and July 1, 1957.)

Two political parties, the Progressive Party and the All Buganda Party, expressed their disapproval of the proposed system for direct elections. The Progressives wanted more African representation on the Legislative Council and ministerial posts to be filled by people from the representative side. The All Buganda Party believed that the council is a key to East African Federation. (*Uganda Eyogera*, July 5, 1957.)

The Buganda Government has accepted the Protectorate Government's proposals for the African franchise, although in earlier discussions it had voted in favour of universal adult franchise. (*The Times*, June 28, 1957.)

Development as a Unitary State

The protectorate Government's policy to develop Uganda as a unitary state has been attacked from several quarters. Members of both the Lukiko of Buganda and the Ruruto of Toro support the building up of a federal system as a means of preserving the position of the country's traditional native rulers. Mr. Lulaya, a Buganda chief, criticized the actions of the Governor, Sir Frederik Crawford, in discussing constitutional issues with the main political parties. He said: "The Governor's intention is to take power away from our Kabaka and hand it to the political parties." (*The Times*, June 17 and 24, 1957.)

Congress claims the Uganda Congress has run an intensive campaign throughout the territory to enlist support. The Party's manifesto included "four immediate practical issues," on which it demanded that the Protectorate Government should negotiate. These are: direct election of the Legislative Council with universal adult suffrage; unity of the tribes of Uganda with preservation of their tribal institutions; Africanization of the Civil Service; and greater opportunities for Africans in trade, commerce and industry. The President of the Party, Mr. Musazi, declared that the congress would not take part in the next Legislative Council, due to be formed in

1958, unless the majority of its African representatives were directly elected. (*The Times*, May 19 and 20, 1957.)

The 46 members who walked out of a National Congress meeting subsequently met and a suggestion was brought forward that they should form a new party. It was suggested that before taking further steps a notice should be sent to the President, Mr. I. K. Musazi, stating what will be done if the party's system for election of office bearers was not changed. (*Obugagga*, July 3, 1957.)

The Future of Asians

The *Kenya Weekly News* (July 5, 1957) said that the chances of the Asian community being accepted fully by Asians were not good. The "layer-cake" conception of Uganda society—white, brown, black—is rapidly losing ground. Even "multi racialism" is not good enough. "Non-racialism" is the watchword of today. Here again, the Asian community has led the way. As soon as it became clear that Uganda was headed for self-government in the not-so-distant future, its spokesmen hastened to express the Asian community's complete solidarity with the indigenous population.

The fact is that before Africans are likely to think of the Asian as "one of us," the Asians must not only lose their economic and political identity, but their social identity as a community—or rather a group of communities—as well. It is doubtful whether they can, or are willing, to do this in the time which remains to them.

The only alternative is for the Asians to ensure that, as a community, they continue to play a valuable part in the continued prosperity, if not the very existence, of the country.

The Asian is being pushed steadily out of the village retail trade. His numerous sons and daughters are having to look elsewhere for their livelihood. Some Asians are meeting this challenge by providing a service for which the African is not yet equipped. Using their greater capital and/or credit, they are becoming secondary wholesalers, buying at wholesale prices and touring the villages with vans, supplying the needs of local African retailers. Even this, however, is likely to be a short-term reprieve. With Government encouragement, Africans have discovered the benefits of traders' associations. More and more shopkeepers are pooling their requirements to buy direct from the primary wholesaler.

The danger of present trends is that the Asians will split into two classes—a wealthy and influential class of big businessmen and a depressed class of small traders, artisans and office workers, competing at a disadvantage against Africans who are equally capable of doing their jobs.

The paper suggests that a solution to the problem could be found in new development in the sphere of "chain-stores," a central organization bulk-buying consumer goods and distributing them to a large number of similar shops throughout the country. This is one of the developments which would enable the Asian to hold his own in the economic life of the country. The already wealthy businessman could use his capital and commercial ability to set up such organizations, buying out the individual village duka wallah and employing him as the local manager. Another field of enterprise which is now opening is light industry, particularly clothing, furniture and domestic utensils.

It concludes: "If they are to retain their identity and play their part in Uganda's future, the peoples of Asian origin must first find some form of unity among themselves and then follow a conscious policy of ensuring that they play an indispensable part in the economic structure and prosperity of the country. The opportunity is there if they will seize it. The alternative of crying 'Please we just want to be good Africans,' is likely to fall on deaf ears."

Inter-racial Schools

A policy of inter-racial education has been announced by Uganda's Minister of Social Services, Mr. G. B. Cartland. A start will be made next year in Government Secondary schools, although Mr.

Cartland said it would be necessary for the process of integration to be gradual and without any lowering of standards in any school.

He hoped that Non-Government schools would also adopt the policy. (*Uganda News*, May 30, 1957.)

Nile Waters Agreement Revision

Uganda's Minister of Natural Resources, Mr. A. B. Killick, told Legislative Council that he understood H.M. Government would, at the first favourable opportunity, open negotiations with the other signatories to the 1929 Nile Waters Agreement with a view to it being revised in the light of representations made by the East African Governments. He said these Governments had reviewed, at a technical level, their future water requirements for all purposes, including irrigation and the development of hydro-electric power. These requirements were now being discussed in London by representatives from the three East African territories and the Sudan.

Future Economic Development

The Economist Intelligence Unit has published for the Uganda Electricity Board a report on the economic development it hopes will be achieved by 1970. The report states that cotton and coffee, the two main cash crops, could be earning £50,000,000 to £60,000,000, and exports of tea, tobacco, food crops, bilseeds, rubber and sugar were likely to increase. These estimates might well be exceeded if the modernization of agricultural methods continued.

Apart from the cement, copper and projected phosphate industries, mineral exploitation is severely limited by the nature of deposits and the high costs, especially of transport. Heavy industries are only just beginning to be established, but light industries are expected to continue their present expansions, and their output would be doubled or trebled, even at a conservative estimate. The population as a whole is expected to rise by at least 20%, and the urban population of the six main townships by 200%. The natural income, in real terms, should rise by at least 66½%.

There is already a large and unsatisfied demand for electricity from the light industries, and by 1970 the expected economic expansion would bring the total consumption by light industry to at least five or six times the 1956 level. European and Asian domestic demand is also likely to increase considerably and an African domestic demand be created.

The aggregate demand for electricity from Uganda, plus the demands from Kenya, is likely to exceed the capacity of the present Owens Fall dam. Another generating plant may well be needed by 1965, and construction of a new dam should have been begun by 1960. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 20, 1957.)

Somaliland

Inaugural Meeting of the Legislative Assembly

THE inaugural meeting of the Legislative Council was opened by the Governor, Sir Theodore Pike, who is President of the Council, on May 21, 1957. He said that it was "an occasion of the very highest importance to all of us, since it marks the entry of Somaliland into the great and growing tradition of parliamentary democracy."

"It may seem to you," he added, "Honourable Members, and particularly to the unofficial members of the Council, that the freedom of action of this Council is unnecessarily curtailed. It has been explained to all of you that while the Council has real and extensive powers, both to make laws to control the expenditure of public money, there are still certain spheres in which power is reserved to the Governor. It should be remembered, however, that in other countries of the Commonwealth, even those which now manage their own affairs, the Legislatures did not achieve full financial control

and autonomy until the stage of self-government had been reached. In these early stages of constitutional development we are all learning our way, the official members as much as the unofficials, and we must have a reasonable period for trial and experiment in order to gain the confidence and experience which will eventually enable us to consider further constitutional advance."

Referring to the continuation of the Protectorate Advisory Council, the Government said that this Council was to continue, since the stage at which its valuable and widely representative advice could be dispensed with had not yet been reached. The exact relationship between the Legislative Council and the Protectorate Advisory Council would have to be worked out in the light of experience, and it was a matter on which the Legislative Council itself would no doubt form its own views.

After referring to the "sombre background" of the territory's present financial position and of the need to train Somali officers to take over important positions in the Government, the Governor concluded with an assurance that the Government would not lightly set aside the advice which it receives from the Legislative Assembly.

In the course of the second day's proceedings, Mr. Michael Mariano put forward a motion that Government should undertake to invite the Chairman of the Commission on Adenization of the Civil Service in Aden to visit the Protectorate to advise the Government on the acceleration of the participation of Somalis in the public service. The proposal was welcomed by the Chief Secretary and, after discussion, was carried unanimously. (*War Somali Sidihi*, June 1, 1957.)

National United Front Policy

The National United Front, at their general meeting, confirmed that their four-point policy was: Recovery of the Reserved Areas and the Haud; unification of the Somalis; independence within the Commonwealth; and peace between the tribes.

A special committee, consisting of the N.U.F. committee, which was re-elected for a further two years, and one member from each district delegation which considered the best way of furthering peace between the tribes, recommended that tribes should be advised that when they suffered an injury they should not retaliate, but should seek a remedy by other means. A peace committee is to be formed in every district, with the N.U.F. co-ordinating their efforts.

Education

Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, replying to a question from Mr. A. Wedgwood Benn (Labour), said that there were 1,190 pupils at the 17 elementary schools in the Protectorate, 520 at the six intermediate schools and 63 at the only secondary school. A further seven elementary and three intermediate schools would be opened this year to provide for 210 and 90 pupils respectively. There was one trades school providing technical education for 78 pupils, and one vocational training centre with 41 trainees. There was no provision within the Protectorate for education beyond secondary school standard; this was provided by means of scholarships to suitable pupils to study in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Somalia

Importance of Economic Stability

THE Trusteeship Council, discussing the future of Somaliland, emphasized the importance of a sound economy for the territory when it became independent in 1960.

Mr. Hagi Farah, Minister of Economic Affairs of the Somalia Government, said that some economic progress had been made in

the last six years. Budget receipts, though still inadequate, had increased by more than 110%. The trade deficit had decreased by nearly 30%. Consumption of primary goods, such as sugar, tea, cotton, etc., had doubled, and production rose 20% between 1954 and 1956.

Mr. D. Grillo (Italy) told the Council that after gaining independence, Somalia would need outside financial aid to the extent of at least 32,000,000 somalos a year, approximately 4,000,000 dollars.

The subject of capital investment was also brought up by Mr. Nicholas Feld (United States), who asked what efforts Italy was making to encourage private capital to remain in the territory. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development report had said: "The outstanding feature of the present situation is uncertainty. Private business is uncertain as to its position and opportunities after 1960. Except for the operations of the oil companies, the inflow of private capital has largely stopped; the tendency is rather for funds to flow out. Able men have already begun to leave Somalia, or are actively seeking more certain employment elsewhere."

In reply, Mr. Luigi Gasbarri (Italy) declared that this was "a fear, not a fact." No single major enterprise had left the territory. The Bank's statement, he added, might have been caused by the decrease in new private investment. This had fallen from 1,250,000 dollars in 1954 to 375,000 dollars in 1956, and before 1954 it had been at the rate of 5,000,000 dollars a year.

On the political front, Mr. Vittorio Zadotti (Italy) explained the scope of the executive and legislative powers granted to the Somali Government. The only fields now reserved to Italy, he said, covered such matters as foreign affairs and defence, and on these the administering authority kept the Somali Government informed in practice. There would be another general election next year for a new Legislative Assembly. This Assembly would be both a legislative and a constituent body, and would approve a constitution. A Head of State was also expected to be nominated by the end of next year. (U.N. News.)

Sudan

Foreign Policy

SAYED MOHAMMED AHMED MARGOUB, the Foreign Minister, in a statement to Parliament, said: "In determining our foreign policy we will be guided by the world problems directly affecting our country; our attitude towards them will be coloured by our national interests without prejudice to the legitimate rights of other countries. We quite realize that our immediate problem is to direct all our energies towards the development of our potential resources in order to raise the standard of living and provide the necessary services to our people. In so doing we would not like to take any course of action which would impair our sovereignty or give chance to foreign interference, and therefore we decided to follow the policy of strict neutrality between the West and the East.

"We strongly believe that States must learn to co-operate instead of compete, otherwise the small nations like ourselves will cease to retain effective independence. Competition will lead small nations to resort to military protection. Consequently, their armaments, their alliances, and even the internal structures of their economic life will become, not the expression of their own needs, but the will of the superior States. Our conception of positive neutrality is that we judge every international problem on its own merit and pass our judgment, which shall be based on substantial evidence. . . .

"The Sudan is in the main a cognate part of the Arab world. Our policy towards the Arab League is to support it and strengthen it and draw strength from it. . . . Our relations with the Arab

countries do not exist in a compartment separate from Africa. This relation will not make us lose sight of our African ties of affinity. We will always think of the African peoples and try to help them in their progress and evolution towards freedom and a better life. Our affirmative objective is to promote the abilities of the African peoples in order to obtain self-government and manage their own affairs to the best for themselves and the world at large. . . .

"We believe that it is our duty to link the Arab world with the African countries, and this co-operation between the Arab countries and the African countries shall be co-ordinated with the countries of the African-Asian group which agree in the common interests and common aspirations. By joining the African-Asian group, we believe that we are participating with the other fellow members in promoting world peace and understanding. . . .

"We stood beside Egypt throughout the discussion of the problem of the Suez Canal, and we made our support well known in all our declarations in the United Nations, in the Sudan, and in the statements published by the Arab Press and the Press of other countries. We demanded the immediate withdrawal of the forces of aggression, and we pressed this demand until it was realized in the complete evacuation of the foreign forces. We supported Egypt in nationalizing the Suez Canal and defended that action on the grounds that it is an intrinsic part of her sovereignty. In addition to that, we used to conduct consultations with our Arab colleagues and with other members of the Bandung Conference on all the common matters brought before the United Nations. Our co-operative attitude regarding the Egyptian problem enabled us to manifest the strong relations between our two countries on the one hand and between us and the other Arab sister-countries on the other. . . .

"The stand of the Sudan in the United Nations regarding the policy of positive neutrality was very clear in theory and practice. We did not show any signs of partiality towards one bloc or another. So when it was proposed to include the motion for the admission of the Chinese People's Republic in the agenda we voted in favour of its inclusion for discussion, on the grounds of justice and democracy. . . . When the Hungarian problem was brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations there was a marked split between the East and the West regarding the problem. However, we preferred to follow a sound and neutral policy, in which we affirmed the right of the present Government to exercise authority over its territory. Moreover, we demanded that an official neutral delegation from the United Nations should visit Hungary to see the situation on the spot and report in order to acquaint us with the facts. This attitude is quite consistent with the policy of positive neutrality. . . .

"We have defended the Algerian cause of freedom. We did so because of our common existing ties of affinity, and because we are pledged to support all nations struggling for independence. This attitude of ours was not confined to Algiers alone. As we believe that freedom is indivisible, we have adopted similar attitudes towards all other problems wherever we felt that freedom was in danger. Among these problems was the question of Cyprus. Concerning this question we mainly devoted our arguments to the right of self-determination for the people of Cyprus; we called for the evacuation of foreign troops from the island." (Sudan News Bulletin, May 27, 1957.)

Budget, 1957-58

Sayed Ibrahim Ahmed, Minister of Finance and Economics, presented the Central Government Budget, and said, *inter alia*: "It gives me greater pleasure to be able to start on a cheerful note, because the progress and growth of our economy in the last year and also since the introduction of self-government has been, to say the least, most encouraging. . . .

"The production of our main crops has increased substantially. Livestock figures also show a fairly sizeable increase. The Govern-

ment's efforts to help local industries have also borne some fruits. This growth is reflected in our balance of trade figures for 1956, which have improved over 1955 figures by £(Sudanese)22.3 millions. Our foreign reserves have improved over the previous year by some £(S)16 millions, and on the completion of the repatriation of the Egyptian currency the Sudan foreign reserves will amount to some £(S)50 millions. . . .

"Revenue for the year 1957-58, without taking into account the effects of new taxation proposals, is estimated at £(S)45 million, and expenditure at £(S)40 million, thus leaving a surplus of £(S)5 million. This result is very much better than I thought it would be at the time the scrutiny of submissions was going on. The improvement in the final budgetary position was the outcome of considerable efforts by my Ministry and the co-operation of the various Ministries and Departments to keep the level of Government expenditure within the limits set by our need for funds for productive development and other essential services. . . .

"It is almost axiomatic that in our present circumstances the Government will have to provide the major part of the funds required for development. Not only has it to finance projects under the Central Development Plan, but it has also to help in financing some enterprises in the private sector. . . .

"The emphasis in the next development plan will be placed on productive schemes, particularly those which promise quick returns. The availability of internal resources will not, however, by itself be the answer to the problem of development. Foreign exchange is equally important. It might well be that the key to our development and our economic progress for the next few years is the availability of foreign exchange. Without sufficient reserves of foreign exchange the development plan might have to be extended over a longer period and development is likely to be slower. . . .

"Our pattern of foreign trade remains multilateral and free. We have certainly experienced difficulties in the strict application of this policy. Some of these difficulties have even arisen in quarters which are avowedly multilateral. It is true that some of these countries were genuinely experiencing difficulties in foreign exchange, but this cannot be said of some other countries. . . .

"During the last ten years the Sudan had a favourable balance of trade of £(S)57.9 millions with the United Kingdom, £(S)3.2 millions with Western Europe and £(S)8 millions with the dollar area. But there has been an unfavourable balance with the Middle East and the rest of the world of £(S)22.6 millions. The deficit was met from our balances with the United Kingdom. Sterling was readily acceptable to all countries from which we buy our goods." (*Sudan News Bulletin*, June 10, 1957.)

Protest to Egypt

The Sudan Prime Minister, Sayed Abdullah Khalil, stated he had informed the Egyptian Ambassador that reports had been received that the Egyptian Embassy was "financing newspapers and Communists." This is not the first time the Prime Minister has had to protest against Egyptian activities here; on his last visit to Cairo he is known to have raised the matter with President Nasser, who feigned ignorance of any such activities by his diplomatists.

The Times (May 24, 1957) commented that: "Egyptian influence in politics has always been strong. There is no political party that could be described as pro-Egyptian, but with an election due next November the parties are beginning to think more about raising campaign funds. Heavy Egyptian financing of the National Unionist Party during the 1953 election was publicly acknowledged when a case concerning funds came before the courts."

End of First Parliament

The first Sudanese Parliament died a natural death when its term of three-and-a-half years expired. It was announced by the Supreme

Commission of the Republic that elections would be held at the end of February, 1958.

The Sudan Parliament first met in January, 1953, when Sayed Ismail el Azhari was elected Prime Minister. After the achievement of independence on January 1, 1956, Sayed el Azhari was forced to form a second Administration, drawn from all parties, and this in turn was later displaced by the present coalition Government, headed by Sayed Abdullah Khalil.

The *Manchester Guardian* (July 2, 1957) commented on the difficulties arising from the lack of educated men, particularly for staffing the Foreign Service, and also because an unexpectedly large number of British technicians of all kinds, who had not been compulsorily "Sudanized," voluntarily resigned—mostly because they felt that they could not afford to stay without any prospect of promotion to the best-paid posts. There were thus far more vacancies to be filled than there were qualified Sudanese to fill them, and, although a number of expatriates were recruited on short contracts, most of the burden had to be taken up by the Sudanese themselves; and this, with its spate of transfers and premature promotions, threw much vital work into confusion. It concluded, however, that the Sudanese so far, while avoiding complacency, can justifiably feel satisfied with what has been done in the lifetime of their first Parliament.

Zanzibar

Common Roll Election

REGISTRATION of electors in all six constituencies of Zanzibar has been completed, and the first elections for six seats in the Legislative Council will be held on a common roll. The franchise is restricted to men and to subjects of the Sultan, and there is a literacy qualification. The common roll system was adopted on the recommendation of Mr. W. F. Coutts after he had carried out a special inquiry.

After six of the seats have been filled by election, the remaining six representative seats will be filled by nomination from among persons qualified to be candidates and having the support of not less than 100 registered electors.

The Government undertook a mass campaign with the aid of *Sauti ya Uguja* (Zanzibar Radio) to explain to the people the idea of a common roll, and it seems that many people in the interior who previously knew nothing about elections have come forward to register as voters.

The Nationalist Party has put up four candidates for each constituency. These candidates have not been chosen by virtue of their belonging to this or that race, but for their ability to work for the country as a whole. The African Association, which claims to represent the African population of Zanzibar and Pemba, has decided to merge with the Shirazi Association and to stand together at the election.

A political tug-of-war is being waged between the Nationalist Party and the African Association. While the Nationalist Party is claiming that the African Association is composed of a majority of aliens and is not fit to put up candidates, the African Association claims that it is the healthiest and strongest in the political field, and the Zanzibar Africans are confident that they will win seats in the Council.

There is another political tug-of-war between the Indian Association and the Muslim Association, with the result that the Indian community has been divided, and it seems as if each Indian community will have its own candidates. If the split is not healed there is every possibility of all the seats being won by the Nationalist Party and the African Association. (*New Commonwealth*, May 27, 1957.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Eric Louw's Visit to Britain

MR. ERIC LOUW, the Minister of External Affairs who is in Britain to represent South Africa at the Commonwealth Conference, said on arrival that the policy of the Nationalist Party was to make South Africa a republic, but this would not mean leaving the Commonwealth. (*Daily Telegraph*, June 26, 1957.)

Speaking at a banquet of the South Africa Club in London, Mr. Louw said: "I would be failing in my duty if I did not take advantage of my presence in London to deal with the anti-South African Campaign, which on the one hand is generating prejudice against South Africa in the minds of millions of people in the United Kingdom, and on the other hand is having the effect of exacerbating both sections of the Union's European population. However excellent and cordial the relations between our two Governments may be, there is little doubt that the relations between the peoples of the two countries are being detrimentally affected by this campaign. That, of course, is most unfortunate.

"Our two countries have many interests in common, apart from the traditional bonds of race, sentiment and friendship, and it is in our mutual interest that we should co-operate to the best of our ability. There are the trade relations between our two countries. South Africa last year purchased goods from the United Kingdom to the value of £166,000,000. On the other hand, the United Kingdom provides us with our best market for various agricultural products and processed foods. South Africa, in return, provides Britain with valuable strategic and other raw materials which are required for her industries. Moreover the United Kingdom derives considerable benefit from the fact that South Africa's gold production is sold on the London Market."

On racial problems Mr. Louw said: "The large disproportion in the relative figures of the non-White and White populations of the Union—almost four to one in favour of the non-Whites—has always been a difficult problem. It has been in the forefront of the problems with which successive Governments had had to deal. During all these years, the practice of differentiation on grounds of colour has been tacitly accepted by all sections in South Africa.

"The main reason generally advanced by those who try to justify the anti-South African campaign, is that the Government has, since coming to power, passed legislation for carrying out the Government's policy of apartheid, i.e., separate development for the non-European population. The legislation complained of does no more than put into statutory form what has been South Africa's policy for many years.

"No new policy, in the strict sense of that term has been evolved by the present Government. It is this important aspect of the issue that is carefully concealed by our critics and enemies abroad, in order that the Government at present in power can be presented as 'the villain of the piece.' Mr. Louw quoted words by Field-Marshal Smuts to support his claim that *apartheid* or 'separation,' which was the term used by the Field-Marshal had always been the traditional policy of South Africa.

Mr. Louw said that feeling had been aroused in England by the so-called "Church Clause" in the recently-enacted Native Laws Amendment Act. The general impression created is that the Government is interfering with freedom of religion and that a member of the Bantu race will no longer be free to attend a service or to worship in a church outside a proclaimed Bantu area, except with the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs. This is a complete distortion of the facts. There is full freedom of religion in South Africa for members of all races and for all religions. The facts were that legislation was, in 1945, passed by a previous Government which provided that no institution intended mainly for the benefit of

Natives, including a church (which is specially mentioned) could be conducted outside a Native residential area without the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs. If a similar "Church Clause" in the 1957 legislation is regarded as an interference in religious freedom, then obviously the 1945 legislation was similarly an interference in the freedom of religion and the freedom of worship.

"The similar 1945 provision would have continued undisturbed had it not been for the fact that during the past year or two certain clerics and also political agitators, in furtherance of their opposition to the policy of separation, or *apartheid*, have been encouraging the Bantu members of the churches in the native residential areas to attend church services within the European areas—not for the purpose of genuine worship, but in order to undermine and eventually to break down the policy of racial separation. In other words, these natives were not actuated by a genuine desire to worship God in the European church, but were in fact staging a political demonstration.

"Soon complaints reached the Minister—mostly from members of the Anglican church. When it became clear that the encouragement of Natives to refrain from attending their own churches, and to go to churches in a European residential area was in fact a political campaign, the Government decided to take steps to put an end to what had developed into a nuisance. The "Church Clause" is, however, subject to certain provisos (among them that the Minister can take no action except with the concurrence of the Local Authority concerned). It is quite clear from the provisos that there is nothing whatsoever in this clause to prevent Natives from attending any church service in any European area as long as such attendance is not in large groups organized for the purpose of what is in fact a political demonstration."

Commenting on Mr. Louw's reference to Field Marshal Smuts, *South Africa* (July 6, 1957) said: "Can anyone doubt that the Minister of External Affairs, by making one or two carefully selected quotations from addresses by General Smuts, contrived to give a distorted impression of the dead leader's attitude on the native question? Almost in so many words Mr. Louw claimed General Smuts to have been the father of *apartheid*."

Economic Boycott

The Coloured People's Organization, the Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions joined the African National Congress in calling for "a nation-wide boycott of Nationalist-controlled products and institutions."

A spokesman of a sub-committee representing the five organizations said that the "black list" which was being drawn up would contain the names of at least a hundred products. The list would be amplified from time to time as a result of "continued research."

A statement released on behalf of the five organizations added: "The boycott will be directed against firms and institutions set up and supported by Nationalist politicians for the specific purpose of advancing the Nationalist cause. Shops would be informed that if they continued to sell boycotted products they would be boycotted. They would, however, 'be given a chance to sell stocks on hand.'" (*Golden City Post*, May 26, 1957.)

Subsequently the Supreme Court issued an order restraining the organizations from distributing literature advertising a boycott of the products of the Rembrandt Tobacco Company. The leaflets which had been prepared described the firm as being "under political Nationalist control and direction," having been established under the original chairmanship of Dr. N. Diedrichs, M.P. (Nationalist), and having a number of Nationalist M.P.s among its shareholders and directors.

The company disclaimed that it fell under the political control of any group or organization, whether Nationalist, Imperialist, Communist, or of any other ideology. (*South Africa*, June 22, 1957.)

Day of Protest

The African National Congress proclaimed June 26 to be a day of protest against *apartheid*, the pass laws, and low African wages. Describing the scene, the *Manchester Guardian* (June 27, 1957) said: "In Johannesburg a one-day strike by the black labour force is a serious thing. It is illegal. It is another expression of the growing African resentment and organization. Before dawn squads of policemen converged on the railway stations and bus stops and patrolled the roads that connect these drab dormitories with the golden city.

"Then, when light came, a few furtive dark figures crept out of their houses and slipped down to the railway station. It is a hard thing for an African worker living very near the bread-line to miss a day's work and run the risk of dismissal; and, as the hours passed, more and more of these poor people, defying the disapproval of their neighbours, made their way to work.

"In Orlando about half the workers apparently ignored the call to strike. In some places the proportion was higher, in others lower. Some factories were unable to work, while others found nearly all their labourers present. At Sophiatown it is estimated three-quarters of workers stayed at home. There seemed to be no violence or intimidation."

The *Pretoria News* (June 27 and 28, 1957) reported that in Johannesburg and Vereeniging the strike was 50 per cent. effective but in other areas there was little support. Docking a day's pay seemed to be the general action being taken by Johannesburg employers against those who stayed away from work. "According to reports large-scale dismissals are unlikely. Some firms are still considering what to do about the absentees, while others are reported to be giving bonuses to those who came to work. One or two firms are taking no action and simply letting the whole thing pass."

At the close of the day of protest torch light processions staged by Indians in Johannesburg were broken up by the police who made baton charges. Several people were injured. An inquiry is being urged by many non-European organizations and a telegram to the Minister of Justice described the police action as "brutal and violent," and made without any provocation or any prior warning. "Such attacks strengthen the growing belief," said the telegram, "that police are being increasingly used against people to intimidate them, and stifle all legitimate opposition to Government policies on the part of the voiceless people of South Africa."

The South African Indian Congress also sent a cable to the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, urging him to ask the Government to set up a judicial commission of inquiry.

Mass Protest Against Permit System

Police began an attempt to enforce the law requiring native women to carry permits authorizing their presence in an urban area for more than 72 hours. In Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare—areas under the jurisdiction of the Native Resettlement Board—as well as in European suburbs of the city, police asked women to produce their permits.

The Native Urban Areas Act which applies to native men and women, came into force in its present amended form in 1952, but the Johannesburg City Council decided that it could not apply it to women until they had been issued with reference books under the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act. So far the Government have taken no steps to issue these to Native women in Johannesburg. (*Star*, May 8, 1957.)

Police action was subsequently suspended temporarily as a result of urgent representations to the police and the Native Affairs Department by officials of the Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council.

Special Branch detectives took notes at the meeting in "Free-

dom Square," Sophiatown, which led to the sending of a seven-man deputation backed by a singing crowd of between 6,000 and 7,000 natives outside the Johannesburg City Hall to present a petition to the Mayor, Mr. Max Goodman, protesting against the permit system. The Mayor eventually accompanied the deputation which had been with him for more than an hour to the City Hall steps. At his request leaders of the deputation asked the people to disperse quietly and go home. They promised to call meetings in the township and to explain the result of their interview.

At a Press conference later the Mayor announced that he was prepared to ask the City Council to issue exemption certificates to native women under the following conditions: they must have been born in the city, worked in the city for 10 years or be the wives or children of this class of permanent resident. Exemption certificates would also be issued to those who could show that they were in permanent employment and, therefore, needed in the city.

Replying to criticisms about receiving the deputation at the City Hall, the Mayor said that if a section of the community wished to send a deputation to him, it was right that he should meet it in his own office. (*Star*, June 16, 1957.)

Examining the reasons for the demonstration the *Rand Daily Mail* (May 18, 1957) said: "Out of the blue one recent day the police raided the township and demanded native women to identify themselves. That raid, according to the Mayor, was not made at the instance of the municipality. Nor, until that moment, had there been any suggestion that native women in Johannesburg had to carry passes or, as the Government prefers to call them, 'reference books'. After the raid, inquiries were made to find out whether these women had to be registered at a Pass Office in the same way as the men have to be registered and the result was that nobody seemed to know."

Multi-racial Conference

The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, The Bishop of Johannesburg, Mr. Alan Paton, Chief A. J. Luthuli, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. Alec Hepple, M.P., Mrs. Ruth Foley and Mr. Leo Marquard have issued a statement calling for a conference of people of all races "who are concerned to find a way of life acceptable to all South Africans." They plan to invite other individuals prominent in South African life to be co-sponsors. In this statement attention would be drawn to the national conference in Bloemfontein last October which was called by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation to consider the Tomlinson Report. That conference, attended by 394 delegates from all parts of the country and representing all shades of African opinion, rejected the Tomlinson Report.

Group Areas Amendments*

The Group Areas Amendment Bill has been described as "shocking, terrible legislation" by Mr. Mitchell (U.P.) during the committee stage in the House of Assembly. One clause provides that where a person is alleged to belong to a particular race group, the onus of proving otherwise rests on him.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, said the provision was to deal with the case, for instance of a white woman married to an Indian or a native. She would take the group of her husband, and would lose it on his death or dissolution of the marriage. When a question of legal or illegal occupation arose, this provision would facilitate the position. It would be perfectly easy for her to discharge the onus. The clause was approved by 74 votes to 41. (*Pretoria News*, June 6, 1957.)

Indians living in their own group areas such as Lenasia—22 miles from Johannesburg—will not be allowed to employ natives as domestic servants.

* Digest IV, 6

The Minister also takes powers under the Bill to shut down premises owned by non-whites in white areas to which members of the different racial groups have access. Dr. Donges said he was thinking particularly of the Taj Mahal Club in Johannesburg. This club, which is owned by an Indian, is patronised by whites and non-whites. Dr. Donges acquires power to close it down by simple amendment in the law to make a person's presence on premises equivalent to "occupation." The penalty for contravening the law relating to occupation is a maximum fine of £200 or two years' imprisonment.

The new Bill empowers Dr. Donges to prevent social intermingling of the races in places of entertainment, at restaurants and at clubs. The Native Laws Amendment Bill gave the Minister of Native Affairs powers to prevent social mixing only between whites and natives in urban areas. (*Sunday Times*, June 6, 1957.)

Commenting editorially the *Rand Daily Mail* (June 10, 1957) said: "We seem to have reached a point where only Heaven and Dr. Donges know what the Group Areas Act really means. When the Minister rose in Parliament last week to amend the Act it was the fifth large patch he had applied to the measure. The original bill was passed in 1950. It was amended for the first time in 1952. It was amended again in 1955 and then hastily amended once more before the end of that session. There were further amendments in 1956 and now the House is struggling with the Group Areas Amendment Bill 1957.

"The long list of revisions and amendments tells its own story. The Act is unworkable and everyone knows it. At every stage of the proceedings it has been found necessary to arm Ministers and their departments with powers that go far beyond any authority that Parliament has granted individuals in the past simply to enable them to carry out some tiny fraction of the master plan."

Definitions of the Indian, Chinese and Malay groups in South Africa have been published in the Government Gazette. Indians and Chinese are groups, for the purpose of the Act, in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal, while Malays will be a group for similar purposes in the specified controlled area of the Cape.

Restrictions on Asians

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 8, 1957) reported that two men—a Malay and a Chinese—were convicted of unlawfully occupying, in terms of the Group Areas Act, premises in the City. It was stated in court by a Land Tenure Board inspector that both—legally—had nowhere else to live. There is no place set aside in Johannesburg for Malay and Chinese people.

They were fined a nominal £3, which they paid. The magistrate, who was compelled by law to order them to move from their illegally-occupied premises, gave them 18 months to do so. Under the section of the Act, they had to be given not less than 14 days in which to move. The men had been charged with occupying premises which had not been occupied by a member of the same race as themselves on March 30, 1951—the date on which tenancy of all premises was "frozen" and after which only members of the same racial group could occupy the premises.

Tribe Refuses to Move

Efforts to move the 400 family strong Mamathola tribe from their home in the Letatete Valley began on June 3, 1957. But the tribe refused to move. They told the commissioner that they could not be expected to be moved to a shelterless farm, where not even a hut had been erected. They said also that the compensation was too small. The women, too, joined in the argument. "How can we move on to the open veld?" they asked. "Are we and our babies to sleep in the cold until huts are built?" They said that their crops were ripening and they wanted to reap them, but the compensation covered only the value of their huts (up to £10) and a transport allowance of from £4 to £8 a family.

European farmers, many of whom laid the original complaints against the Mamathola for destroying the watershed, value their land at up to £100 an acre. Many envious eyes are on the land of the Mamathola. A Native Affairs Department official said today that it is due to be turned into a government afforestation reserve to preserve the watershed, but no official announcement of this scheme has been made.

Pressmen who went into the reserve were ordered out and warned that they would be prosecuted if they came in again, although they had been given verbal permission to enter by the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria.

On June 4 Mr. C. B. Young, Under-Secretary for Native Areas, suspended all operations to remove the tribe and returned to Pretoria to submit an extensive report to the Secretary for Native Affairs for consideration by the Minister of Native Affairs. Everything in the reserve was reported to be quiet. Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, chief information officer of the Department of Native Affairs, said that should the need arise, legal provisions existed to eject the tribe forcibly from the Wolkberg area. "The department is determined to effect the evacuation of the area in the shortest possible time, especially in view of the fact that negotiations have now continued for the best part of 15 years," he said.

A Special Representative of the *Rand Daily Mail* wrote "the failure of the Native Affairs Department to move the tribe from the headwaters of the Letaba River has left the European farmers in the area angry and frustrated." "Typical government bungling" is how they describe the "clumsy negotiations" which have led to a chaotic situation. . . . Metz, the lowveld farm bought for the tribe, has been described as one of the finest pieces of land within 100 miles of Tzaneen.

Why then, the farmers are asking, could the tribe not be persuaded to move? The tribesmen's opposition was formulated at a mass meeting last Thursday. Until then the Native Affairs Department had claimed for many months that the tribe was quite happy about the change. There have been suggestions that the tribe has been got at by "liberals, communists and worse." But farmers who have lived in the area for a lifetime readily admit that the Mamathola is far from a politically active tribe, that there are no signs of active interference by the African National Congress, and that the tribesmen are comparatively backward.

The *Daily Telegraph* (June 6, 1957) reported that the chief had warned his people not to spend compensation money, accepted by some of them when evacuation seemed inevitable, until an interdict filed on behalf of the tribe has been heard in court.

In Parliament (June 12, 1957) the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, blamed the newspapers and United Party election propaganda for the tribes refusal to move. He said that it was a very ordinary sort of removal which every government had to do where necessary. Dr. Verwoerd said that if the tribe did not go voluntarily they would have to be removed in accordance with the law.

Reactions to the Native Laws Amendment Act*

The Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury has declared its support for the Churches in South Africa in their opposition to the Native Laws Amendment Act. This is the first time the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury as a body have criticised the policy of the Union Government.

The resolution, moved by the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Bell, expressed "deep sympathy with the Church of the Province of South Africa and all those other Churches now engaged in struggling to preserve inviolate the right of members of Christian Churches to worship together without distinction of race or colour." It goes on to assure the bishops in South Africa that they have the support

* Digest IV, 6

and prayers of the House in opposing the Bill, and deplores the threats to academic freedom contained in the University Apartheid Bill.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, said he was glad that the Church was now able to break its silence, reminded the Upper House that both he and the late Archbishop of York had on occasions said that the policy of *apartheid* was wrong. The Church in general had been deliberately restrained because the bishops of the Province of South Africa had said that it would embarrass them and increase their difficulties.

The Bishop of Chichester said the relations between the races in South Africa were worsening and one day might be beyond control. The Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Wilson, thought that the protest had come a little too late, but now the clergy and the people should understand its consequences and the theological heresy of *apartheid*. The Bishop of Lichfield warned that a close watch must be maintained for any racial intolerance in England itself.

The magazine of the *Black Sash Movement* (May, 1957) described the Bill as "the worst piece of *apartheid* legislation so far, always excluding the notorious Group Areas Act." It continued: "The greater part of the publicity over this Bill has, quite rightly, been devoted to the infamous 'Church Clause' . . . But there is much else in the Bill that is repugnant, not only to the Christian conscience, but also to anyone who is striving for a better understanding between Black and White. For instance, the Minister is taking powers to control all schools, hospitals, clubs, meetings and gatherings of Natives, or attended by Natives in urban areas. In this context, of course, the word 'control' does not merely mean that the Government is taking the responsibility for seeing that these activities are conducted in an orderly manner. That would be a routine police duty which exists in any case. It means that the Government is determined to see that Black and White cannot meet at all under the cover of any such organizations, except in their duly appointed rôles of master and servant. But the Minister goes further than that. He is taking power to prevent, if he chooses, any meeting between White and Black even in a house or flat. A law of this kind is, we believe, unique in the world. . . .

"Apart from the human side of the question—and that is bad enough—this Bill is politically obnoxious, since it constitutes a considered attack on the independence of the municipalities. The Minister pays lip-service in some clauses to the principle of municipal freedom of action, but in fact the Bill makes it quite clear who is to be master. Dr. Verwoerd himself has said that it is intolerable that municipalities should be able to follow a policy in Native affairs contrary to that of the Government. So the Minister will take over himself. In future no city, town or village will have any control whatever over the treatment of its own Natives. In this field the ratepayers will be virtually disenfranchised."

Dr. A. J. Van der Merwe, Moderator of the Cape Dutch Reformed Church, has stated that as leader of the Dutch Reformed Church delegation to the Minister of Native Affairs he could not join forces with the "unconditional condemnation" of the "Church" clause of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

"Without doubting the good faith of the this criticism," he said, "the delegation has come to the honest conclusion that the threat to the sovereignty of the Church and the individual's freedom of worship in the legislation has been accentuated by the criticism beyond all proportion to the facts."

Dr. Van der Merwe said it was not the duty of the delegation to pass judgment on the "Church" clause, because the delegation regarded the clause as only a social matter. Therefore, the delegation wished no more than to advise the Minister that the Dutch Reformed Churches would "acquiesce in the clause as legal provision through which no infringement was made upon the legal rights of the Church as a Church." (*Star*, May 3, 1957.)

Letters published in *Kerkbode* indicate the cleavage of opinion in influential circles of the Dutch Reformed Churches on the controversial clause. This fissure in the Church has been consistently denied by the Government.

Professor B. B. Keet wrote: "Must we not support the right of the English churches to decide on the way in which they prefer to worship?" The answer, says the Rev. G. C. A. van der Westhuyzen, "must be a decided 'no'." Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the clause is aimed at the English churches, he asks: "Whose fault is it that such a thing became necessary? Is it not the natural result of the premeditated and obstinate attitude of the English churches towards the well-considered, consistent and, for all parties, more effectively applied *apartheid* policy of the Government?"

To those churches the important thing is not that they are being disturbed in the arrangement of their religious services, but that it is the clear intention of such gatherings to thwart the policy of the Government. That was their outspoken policy in the past which they carried out under the cloak of religion.

The Rev. J. A. van Wyk pointed out that "Future Governments, however, whether well or ill-disposed, are not bound by word-of-mouth assurances from Ministers, but by the letter of the law." This provision (relating to "the good order of society") could be so widely interpreted that it could restrict the various activities of the Church. Even mission work was regarded by some as a disturbing activity. "And is not the duty of the Church, when circumstances warrant, to cause a stir in Israel?" Will the Church retain any freedom in this matter? he asks. (*Star*, May 21, 1957.)

The Episcopal Province of the Pacific Synod has unanimously approved the policy of the Anglican Church of South Africa in resisting a Government decree relating to inter-racial worship. A spokesman said that it was the first time since the American revolutionary war that the Episcopal Church in the United States had countenanced the "outright breaking of a law if the church decides that the law is not Christian."

Bishops' Protest

Messages from Bishops of the Anglican Church in South Africa, urging clergy and members of the Church to defy the Native Laws Amendment Act, have been read in all Anglican churches.

The messages said that it was intended to establish a fund to be used for the support of people who suffer penalties for defying the Act and for their dependants. A pastoral letter from the Bishop of Johannesburg was read calling on all members of the Anglican Church to "ignore completely" the "Church Clause" of the Act. "If at any time the Minister decides to implement this clause in any or all of the churches in our diocese, in regard to any religious service or church function, we call on our clergy and people to disobey this direction. In this matter we must obey God rather than man."

The Bishop of Natal counselled both the clergy and the Christian people not to obey any direction from the Minister of Native Affairs with regard to the "Church Clause." He said: "I would not have you think that those portions of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 which specifically concern the Church are the only ones abhorrent to the Christian conscience."

The *Star* (July 15, 1957) said: "It is understood that at the recent Synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa in Cape Town, it was decided that pastoral letters calling attention to the implications of the 'Church Clause' should be read from all Anglican pulpits after the Native Laws Amendment Act had been promulgated."

Social Work and Study Threatened

At the annual general meeting of the Transvaal Non-European Social Workers' Association the fear was expressed that if Europeans who represented big business concerns on Non-White welfare com-

mittees were eventually forced to dissociate themselves from the organization to which they contributed funds, they might take less and less interest in them. *Golden City Post* (May 26, 1957) reported that 75 per cent. of the money used for the running costs of the Johannesburg Bantu Men's Social Centre came from European sources. It cost £4,000 a year to run the centre.

The Planning Council for Non-European Social Welfare work which co-ordinates the work done by 65 social welfare organizations in the Transvaal fears that it may be affected if the Native Laws Amendment Bill is applied in the manner the Minister has already indicated. The Council has a mixed membership.

Dr. Ray Phillips said that he had already been informed by the authorities that the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work may be taken over by the Government and run by the Non-European Affairs Department along with the Bantu Universities the Government plans to set up. Should this take place certain people interested in the school may be forced to abandon their work among the Non-Whites. "Up to now we have been receiving only £5,000 from the Government and about £1,000 from the Johannesburg City Council a year," Dr. Phillips said. "The school costs £9,000 to run. The rest of the money we get from the European public and from American funds. If the Government decides to take over the school it will have to collect its own funds and certain services might be curtailed if the Government thinks they are wasteful."

The "Bus Boycott" Bill *

In the House of Assembly the Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman introduced a Bill: "To provide for the payment of contributions by employers towards the costs of transport services for their Native Employees." As soon as Mr. Schoeman had read the title of the Bill, Opposition members shouted: "Why don't you just call it the 'Boycott Bill'?"

At present Native transport is subsidized from the Native services levy. Of 2s. 6d. which employers pay weekly for each Native employee, 2s. goes towards housing services and 6d. to transport.

The new Bill, which was hurried through all its stages in one day, empowers the Minister to increase the transport levy paid by employers of Native labour from 6d. to a maximum of 1s., and it transfers control of this levy from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Transport. The transport levy in Johannesburg and Pretoria is to be raised to 1s. immediately. Pretoria employers' organizations have protested, saying that they will have to pay an additional £40,000 annually for Native transport. The Minister replied that nothing could be done about their protest as the relevant legislation had been passed before it was received. (*Pretoria News*, June 5 and 6, 1957.)

Stanley Uys, writing in the *Sunday Times* (June 9, 1957) said: "Mr. Schoeman's Boycott Bill positively galloped through. For the first time Government and Opposition found themselves agreeing on a major measure this session."

Mr. Uys described the Bill as a reasonable short-term solution, and said that Mr. Schoeman could have been expected to acknowledge the part played in settling the boycott by commerce, industry, and private individuals, like the Bishop of Johannesburg, who took the situation out of his hands and handled it for themselves.

The latest survey by P.U.T.C.O. shows that the company have lost thousands of passengers since the boycott. Mr. T. H. Frith, managing director of P.U.T.C.O. said that the reasons for the loss of passengers varied. In Alexandria, for example, there had been an increase of 4,000 bicycles since the boycott.

Passengers had taken to using trains when the boycott started, and many were continuing to do so. Others, living in locations served by P.U.T.C.O. buses, had moved to municipal locations served by municipal buses when P.U.T.C.O. vehicles stopped running.

* DIGEST IV, 5 and 6.

These included Natives, who had moved to new townships under "Clean-up" schemes.

Mr. Frith estimates that the loss of passengers since the boycott is costing P.U.T.C.O. about £4,700 a week. (*Sunday Times*, June 9, 1957.)

Citizenship Bill

The Citizenship Bill introduced by the Minister of the Interior, will give him power to take South African citizenship from people who leave the country and act overseas in ways considered hostile to the interests of the Union.

In particular, the Bill will enable the Government to deprive of citizenship those who have left the country and subsequently have been declared prohibited immigrants barred from returning. The measure, therefore, appears to be directed against opponents of the Government, like Father Huddleston, who acquired South African citizenship by domicile and then returned overseas.

Other major changes envisaged by the Bill are the reduction from five to three years of the period of residence necessary to acquire citizenship for immigrants from the Commonwealth and Eire, who can read and write both official languages. Similarly, immigrants from elsewhere who have spent four years in the country and become bilingual may become citizens. The Minister may also refuse to give a certificate of citizenship to a South African citizen. (*Star*, May 31, 1957.)

It has been announced that the Government will not proceed with the Bill this year. (*Pretoria News*, June 14, 1957.)

Passport Refusals

Mrs. Jessie McPherson, an ex-Mayor of Johannesburg and Chairman of the Labour Party, was refused a passport to visit Britain, where she was to have been the South African Labour Party's delegate to the conference of Commonwealth Labour and Socialist parties.

Two years ago Mrs. McPherson was refused a passport to make a private visit to England. Mrs. McPherson works for the Concession Stores Assistants' Union.

Mr. Harry Bloom, the Johannesburg advocate and author of *Episode*, is considering whether to take action against the Department of the Interior. He was refused an exit permit in order to visit London for a dinner given in his honour as winner of the British Authors' Club prize for the best novel of 1956. (*Star*, May 23, 1957.)

A resolution was passed by the Commonwealth Conference of Labour Parties condemning the Government's action in refusing to renew Mrs. McPherson's passport. The resolution said this action carried the hallmark of the police state and struck at the roots of human liberty. The conference called upon all freedom-loving nations to protest against this outrageous deed. It was unanimously supported by delegates representing 26 national Labour parties. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 29, 1957.)

Financial Implications of Apartheid

The sharp reduction in the amount of foreign money invested in the Union last year has roused widespread comment. Only £1,000,000 of foreign capital came in during 1956.

United Party members argued in the House of Assembly that all South Africa's economic ills, including the difficulty that the country was experiencing in obtaining capital from abroad, were directly linked to the Government's apartheid policy.

Dr. A. J. R. van Rhijn, Minister of Economic Affairs, asked how far the Government was expected to go in changing its Native Policy to please overseas opinion. He said: "The Natives in this country want nothing less than equality with the Whites, and the same demand is made of us by the United States and England—although both those countries should do some sweeping at their own racial

front doors before they criticize others. Must we, then, scrap our traditional racial policy, do away with all discrimination, to appease overseas opinion?"

Dr. van Rhijn made it clear that the Government was not prepared to take a single step backwards on its *apartheid* policy to appease opinion in the United States, England or anywhere else in the world.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (June 8, 1957), commenting editorially, described as absurd Dr. van Rhijn's notion that America and Britain would demand full equality between whites and non-whites in South Africa before they would invest capital there, and continued: "Does he really expect anyone except the chorus of Nationalist backbenchers to take him seriously? Without a doubt the policies of this Government have frightened capital away from South Africa and are still doing so. When the United Party was in power, British and foreign investors sent us money in many millions a year. . . . There was no more likelihood then of racial equality than there is now. . . ."

"Overseas investors fight shy of South Africa because they do not think this Government is following a reasonable or safe policy. . . ."

Die Burger said that lines of policy were being followed which, no matter how well they were understood in South Africa and how necessary they were from her standpoint, were often incomprehensible to the foreigner. The atmosphere of distrust was immeasurably aggravated by internal opponents of the Government, who not only possessed a virtual monopoly of the channels of information to the outside world, but also made merciless use of them.

Economic Position of Africans in Johannesburg

A report has been handed to the Johannesburg City Council by a cost and management consultant, who was asked by the Council to provide a realistic assessment of the Natives' present economic position in Johannesburg.

He has found that the "absolute barest minimum" for subsistence is an income of £21 a month.

The city's Non-European Affairs Department has found that the average total Native family income in Johannesburg (the breadwinner, the laundrywoman or domestic servant wife, and the child who caddies on the golf course) is between £10 16s. 8d. and £15 3s. 3d. a month—from £6 to £10 below the barest minimum.

The report stated: "A satisfactory solution of the problem demands an increase in real earnings. This can only be met by an increase in the output of workers at least commensurate with the increase in their wages. To achieve this a development of the skills of all workers is desirable. There is much scope for such development, because most non-Europeans are engaged by industry and commerce after only negligible training. To be effective any increase in wages should be accompanied by adequate training for improving the skills of all workers."

The consultant found that basic minimum food alone for a family of five would cost from £10 2s. 7d. to £11 15s. 10d. a month. Fuel would cost £1 4s. 11d.; cleaning 10s. 8d.; and clothes for the whole family £4 12s. 9d. a month. Then there is rent, transport and tax. (*Star*, April, 1957.)

The Government has refused to order any general inquiry into the economic position and wage structure amongst the African people.

Second Thoughts on Tax Increase *

The Cabinet is said to be having serious second thoughts about proceeding this year with proposals to increase Native taxation.

The Governor-General announced when he opened Parliament in January that legislation would be introduced this year to place the Native poll tax—which has not changed since 1925—on a "basis commensurate with the considerably higher level of income which

* DIGEST IV, 6.

has been attained in the meantime." The Governor-General added that "revenue from this source will be utilized for the general development and, in particular, the education of the Bantu."

In the Budget speech, the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. F. Naude, announced that the Native tax would be increased "to provide for the growing educational needs of the Bantu."

The proposal was never directly linked to the provision of separate universities. Native education is paid for by a fixed grant of £6,500,000 a year from Parliament, plus four-fifths of the revenue from the poll tax, on the understanding that increases in expenditure will have to be met by the Natives themselves. Up till now there has been small margin.

During this session there have been several indications that this was an inappropriate time to increase Native taxes. (*Star*, May 22, 1957.)

Bantu Education

The Government have speeded up their educational "new deal" for the illiterate Natives in the Transkei. In the past two years the number of children at the primary stage has risen from about 160,000 to 220,000 at 1,500 schools.

The Bantu Education Department has recently established three new teacher training schools in the Transkei. The department had also established the Teko Technical School to train Natives as bricklayers, plumbers and tailors.

According to an official of the department, 43 Native mission schools in the territory have refused to be transferred to the Department of Native Affairs. The subsidy ceased at the end of the year, and it is believed that several of these schools will be forced to close.

Mr. T. D. Ramsay, chief magistrate and chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority, said that the Department of Native Affairs believed it would be possible to wipe out illiteracy among the Native mass within 40 years. (*Star*, May 8, 1957.)

Concern is being expressed by a number of Native Councillors about the new Bantu primary school syllabus. It provides a standard of education in such important subjects as arithmetic which is at least two years lower than that of the European. An increasing number of Transkei Natives see this as a barrier to higher education.

In a motion adopted by the Territorial Authority recently, the Government were urged to retain Latin and mathematics in the high school syllabus, so that students would not be deprived of two essential subjects if they chose to take up a profession. (*Star*, May 16, 1957.)

Coloureds' Education

In the Cape Provincial Council, a motion has been passed by 24 votes to 21 calling for the transfer of Coloured education from the Provincial Administration to the Government. Introducing the motion, Mr. J. W. van Staden said the cost of Coloured education was becoming an intolerable burden to the European taxpayer in the Cape, and it would be in the interests of the Coloured people if the Government took over their education.

University Apartheid

The second reading of the Separate University Education Bill was approved by 72 votes to 42 on May 30, 1957. Students of the University of Cape Town and members of the Black Sash organization were drawn up in Parliament Street when the debate opened.

The Minister of Education, Arts and Science, Mr. J. H. Viljoen, said that while he had great regard for the autonomy of universities, it must be remembered that they derived their autonomy from the State, and that the State could therefore vary it, as had indeed happened in the past.

There were a large number of non-white students in the procession. It was the first academic protest procession of its kind in the country.

Speaking from the steps of the University, Professor Sutton, the Principal, said: "The Bill before Parliament endangers the basic

rights of autonomy and academic freedom." The conditions under which the proposed university colleges are to function, he said, are vastly different from those applicable to the teaching universities established by Act of Parliament, "and are incompatible with those accepted as necessary and inherent in university education as understood in the Western world."

Addressing the assembly in front of the City Hall, Prof. I. D. MacCrone, head of the department of psychology and a member of the university council, said that when the Bill becomes law, "after our heads have rolled in the name of *apartheid*," there would be no alternative but to obey it. "We shall obey the law when it becomes law, but we will never accept it."

Professor MacCrone accused the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, of making a subversive statement by saying that "a university cannot have the right, in all circumstances, to propound and to teach what it wishes or by whom it wishes. To us, as a university, this is a truly subversive statement," Professor MacCrone said. (*Star*, May 22, 1957.)

Dr. G. G. Campbell, president of the Association of Technical Colleges in South Africa, in an address at the golden jubilee celebrations of Natal Technical College, said: "If education in South Africa should be harmed by political incursion, then we will fight back to regain the local autonomy that has proved to be the ideal control throughout the free world. It is a source of bewilderment that politics and politicians should invade the very seats of learning. It is a thing we thought impossible in this country."

The national conference of Canadian universities, meeting in Ottawa, passed a unanimous resolution condemning the principle of segregation in South African higher seats of learning. More than 100 delegates were present for the vote. The conference represents all senior academic institutions.

The Rector and Vice-Chancellor of Pretoria University, Professor C. H. Rautenbach, has replied to the statement made by British universities' vice-chancellors and leaders.* Commenting on the reference to "a close association based on a wide community of principle, tradition and practice," Professor Rautenbach asked: "Must I infer from this that a university in the Commonwealth which is a protagonist of separate education cannot share in this close association and hence should separate itself from the association? I would like to get clarity on this matter raised by you and your colleagues." (*The Times*, June 10, 1957.)

Nursing Apartheid *

Demonstrations have been held against the Bill enforcing *apartheid* in nursing. In Johannesburg, police stopped non-European nurses who were marching towards the city hall. Despite this, small groups later gathered, displaying slogans such as "Disease knows no colour bar," and voicing the Florence Nightingale oath. Provincial authorities had warned all Transvaal nurses that they were liable to disciplinary action if they took part in "political activities."

About 200 nurses, most of them Coloured, marched through the streets of Cape Town, and at a meeting of the Cape branch of the Nurses' Association a vote of 300 to 29 against the Bill was recorded. (*The Times*, June 19 and 20, 1957.)

The Nursing Association has been asked by their Witwatersrand branch to hold a referendum among all nurses in South Africa on the Nursing Act Amendment Bill. At a recent meeting they also protested strongly against the refusal of a permit for a non-European member of the branch, Miss Gladys Thala, to attend the international conference of nurses in Rome as an elected representative of the Native nurses of the Union. (*Star*, June 6, 1957.)

Commenting on an editorial in the *Lancet*, the British medical journal, which said, "Apparently the South African Nursing Association (which is affiliated to the International Council of Nurses) does

not recognize fully its duty to its non-White members and its present actions do not seem to be in line with the international code of nursing ethics," Mrs. E. A. Bolton, chairman of the Witwatersrand branch of the Nursing Association, said: "Many nurses in this country, and my branch in particular, are against the racial discrimination contained in the Act. We would like the medical profession in England to know that there are a lot of us who are indeed doing out duty towards our non-European members."

During the debate in the House of Assembly, Mr. Cope (U.P.) said that Native nurses were eager to have even better training than the Europeans, with stiffer examinations, because they were sensitive to the accusation that they had no sense of responsibility. (*Star*, June 14, 1957.)

Dr. Zac de Beer stressed that the United Party did not want to make it compulsory for nurses of different races to mix, but that it considered the greatest autonomy should be given the nursing profession to decide on this matter for itself. The United Party was anxious that the same high standard of training should be maintained for European and non-European nurses. He considered the advisory councils that it established for non-White nurses worthless, and contended that Coloured and Native nurses had been deprived of all say in their profession. (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 12, 1957.)

Political Speeches Foreshadow 1958 Elections

Sir de Villiers Graaff Leader of the Opposition, has listed the Nationalist legislation which the United Party will repeal when it gets back into power. The list includes the Population Registration Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, which would be amended to provide for proper and fair definitions of "Communism" and "Communist," and a recourse to the courts for all who might fall under its provisions. The Natives Prohibition of Interdicts Act—which denies people access to the courts—would be repealed.

The autonomy of the universities would be restored. The "Church Clause" would be repealed. The enlarged Senate would be removed. Invasion of the freedom of the trade unions would also be dealt with.

Positive steps would have to be taken to strengthen the white population, not only by encouraging large families, but with the aid of selected immigrants. State aid would be necessary, but any scheme that was begun would require courage and faith—not only faith that the right sort of immigrant would be attracted, but faith in our own people that, in spite of the fears of the Nationalists, the Afrikaans language, culture and tradition will not lose its identity.

Sir de Villiers said: "It must be appreciated for once and for all that they (the non-Europeans) are not temporary sojourners, and that they are human beings who must be given a stake and an interest in the well-being of their communities, and the maintenance of law and order among their own people."

It was the United Party's policy to ensure that the non-Europeans were not only given responsibility in their own communities, but that they were encouraged to develop among themselves something in the nature of a native middle class—judged by native standards. (*South Africa*, June 29, 1957.)

Mr. R. A. F. Swart, M.P. (United Party), said that it was time that the English section, confronted by extreme Afrikaner nationalism, realized that their freedom was now being threatened. He added: "For heaven's sake do not identify the Nationalists with the Afrikaner people. Remember those Afrikaners who are in the forefront of our fight against extreme nationalism. Do not alienate the goodwill of these people." (*Diamond Fields Advertiser*, May 23, 1957.)

The *Natal Daily News* (May 24, 1957) reported that the Natal Anti-Republican League called for a united protest in Durban in order "to issue a warning to the Government that by its conduct it has forfeited all claims to our loyalty and co-operation, and that unless and until it modifies its attitude we shall withdraw our con-

* DIGEST IV, 6.

* DIGEST IV, 5 and 6.

sent to be governed by it." Mr. D. E. Mitchell, leader of the United Party in Natal, said that he could not be a party to a protest taking the form of a virtual declaration that Natal would now forthwith institute a separate independent government.

The leader of the Nationalist Party in Natal, Mr. W. A. Maree, M.P., said that everything indicated that his party was growing there and that enthusiasm was increasing. (*Die Transvaler*, May 29, 1957.)

The Cape Argus (May 22, 1957) reported that Mr. P. O. Sauer (Minister of Lands and Water Affairs) said at a Nationalist Party meeting that although the United Party's ranks were dwindling, the party had become a greater danger to the welfare of South Africa than ever before because of its swing to liberalism. The United Party wanted to treat the Native like a White man with a black skin.

Die Transvaler (May 31, 1957) reported that Dr. T. E. Donges (Minister of the Interior) told a meeting at Rooihooft that the U.P. was a "sick" party, but it must not be under-estimated. Because it was sick, it was dangerous. The next election would be a bitter political fight. "The U.P. will destroy the whole of South Africa if it wins the election."

Mr. Adlai Stevenson's Visit

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the United States Democratic party's candidate in the last two Presidential elections, strongly attacked the South African Government for its racial policy before he left Johannesburg en route for Central Africa. He said the Government's psychological approach was wrong, and while they deliberately omitted to take into consideration the one fundamental essential shared by all men whatever race, colour, culture, or creed—the human dignity of man—they could not hope for success. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1957.)

His remarks brought a swift reply from Mr. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, who accused Mr. Stevenson of interference in South African political issues. He said: "One appreciates that Mr. Stevenson and other visitors from Congress are conscious of the might and world leadership of the United States. That does not entitle them to intervene in our political affairs."

The United States Embassy later issued a statement from Mr. Stevenson that he had not known he was talking to reporters and he had not said quite what was attributed to him.

The *Daily Telegraph* (June 13, 1957) said: "Whatever must be subtracted from Mr. Stevenson's parting shots, nobody here doubts that he launched a thoughtful and carefully worded attack on Nationalist policy. The attack on Nationalist policy. The only question remaining is whether such advice would be more effectively given in private. The open affront may only harden Pharaoh's heart."

"Opinions are sharply divided in the Lobby on the propriety of Mr. Stevenson's remarks. Most of the Opposition say they were fair comment."

Alan Paton Sentenced *

Alan Paton, author of "Cry, the Beloved Country" and Chairman of the South African Liberal Party, was fined £5 or seven days in gaol after being found guilty of attending a meeting of Africans without having informed the Mayor of Durban in advance. Five other people, including Professor Leo Kuper, were found guilty on the same charge. Notice of appeal was given. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 25, 1957.)

Treason Enquiry Still Goes On

On May 19, 1957, the prosecution called a specialist on political theory to give expert evidence on Communism. Dr. Arthur Murray, professor of philosophy at the University of Cape Town, gave a detailed exposition of the nature, teachings, aims and methods of the Communist doctrine.

Communists, he said, regarded South Africa "as a semi-colonial country, in that the working class—especially the non-Europeans—

is in the position of a colonial population exploited by the capitalist section." He described documents before the court as having "Communist tendencies," "Communist background" and "Communist intention."

He said: "The Communists propose to destroy the private holding of property and to put property under the control of the workers, and thereby remove oppression and exploitation. The Communists believe that this system will be changed only by revolution. The workers must not only seize the instruments of State, but must change their form."

Professor Murray said he had applied four tests to certain documents shown to him by the Crown to determine whether they were Communistic. These were: Whether it preached direct Communism through direct quotations from the "masters"; whether it paraphrased Communist statements; whether it was "non-deviationist" in supporting Soviet policy internationally; and whether it was intended to convey something different from the face meaning.

Asked his opinion of a document issued in 1953 by the Springbok Legion (signed by Jack Hodgson, one of the 156 accused), Professor Murray said: "It has no direct Communism in it, but it has a Communist background."

Of a pamphlet issued by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, he said: "This whole document seems to form part of Communist propaganda." There were "Communist tendencies" running right through the constitution of the African National Congress, and a message by W. M. Sisulu, its secretary-general (also in the dock) was "indirectly associated with left-wing tendencies." (*Star*, May 20, 1957.)

The word "democracy" in the Freedom Charter alleged to have been drawn up by some of the 156 people appearing at the treason inquiry, Professor Andrew Murray said, must be interpreted in the Communist sense. The emphasis on youth and women's movements was in line with Communist tactics, and the references to the "Africa struggle for freedom" conformed with Marxist interpretation of modern history.

British newspapers have published several articles on the trial. Ian Colvin (*Daily Telegraph*, May 21, 1957) said: "There is nothing to prevent any tourist witnessing this unique spectacle of justice. No known Iron Curtain treason trial has held and tried so many people at once in one court room. . . . An unaccustomed weight lies upon Mr. Frank Wessel, the examining magistrate. He is alone in presiding over the preliminary trial. He must sift 10,000 documents submitted by the Crown Prosecutor, and hundreds of affidavits and transcripts of police shorthand notes of meetings. . . ."

Renewed appeals have been made by those organizing funds to meet the needs of the accused and their families. Appealing on behalf of the Christian Action Fund in London, Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., said: "The case drags on and on, and most of the accused are, therefore, unable to earn a living. Already many of them have been sacked by their employers. . . . Some of the accused, indeed, are talking of giving up their bail and returning to prison in order to leave more money from the fund for their families." (*Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1957.)

Apartheid and the Future

Professor A. Keppel-Jones, in an article in the *Sunday Express* (June 23, 1957) forecast the state of South Africa in the year 1967. He foresees a Nationalist Government, though still in power, which has lost all initiative and resorts to "panicky reactions to dangers as they appear." He predicts an economic crisis when Britain refuses to hand over the High Commission Territories, and South Africa retaliates by, the deportation from the Union of all Africans from the territories, the closing of frontiers, etc. He forecasts that Britain, driven by world opinion, will raise tariffs against South Africa and the United States and other countries follow.

He blames the Group Areas Act as "the greatest single factor in creating this situation," where riots are ruthlessly suppressed yet the solidarity of the Non-European remains unbroken, where spoken and

* DIGEST IV, 4 and 5.

written criticism has been silenced by subtle means, and even in the Churches and the Universities, criticism has by these means been driven underground.

Professor P. V. Pistorius, Professor of Greek at Pretoria University, said that there were many points on which he did not agree with Professor Keppel-Jones, but "on the whole the situation is as he has sketched it." He added: "I believe that the solution lies in a policy of controlled outlets, where civilization is protected by the fact that only those who have complied with its demands are admitted to the highest privileges. At the present moment all outlets are being closed.

"The bare fact is that a large majority of the population is debarred from certain privileges purely on the basis of colour, and no sane person can believe that this can be maintained indefinitely.

"Sooner or later, whether in 10 or a hundred years, that basis must disappear. And the only way in which that inevitable change can be effected is by gradually creating controlled outlets in terms of which non-Europeans in South Africa who have reached a certain standard of civilization are admitted to those economic and political privileges from which they are at present debarred." (*Sunday Express*, June 30, 1957.)

Professor B. B. Keet, Professor of Theology at the Dutch Reformed Church Seminary, Stellenbosch, delivering the annual Hoernle memorial lecture of the South African Institute of Race Relations said that to continue with *Apartheid* was "suicidal" for the white race.

It was inevitable in the nature of *apartheid* policy, he said, that the interests of the individual should always be subordinated to that of the group. The concept of group responsibility was a fallacy, "an abstraction that leads to the most disastrous consequences, as is so manifestly proved by the inhumanities of fascism and communism, anti-semitism and colour prejudice."

The irresponsibility of *apartheid* reached its climax, Professor Keet said, when it enforced the separation of those who had been closely associated for a very long time. It did not hesitate to disrupt families and societies, so long as it had its way. It claimed to envisage the development of the non-European races to the limit of their capabilities along their own lines. It was said that they could not be treated as equals until they reached maturity. Professor Keet said: "How are we to determine the point of time when a whole society comes to maturity, and who will be the arbiter in this matter?"

In South Africa the injustices of group-thinking were aggravated by the "absurd group-formation according to the colour of one's skin." The individual was treated as if he had chosen his own ancestors, and this country had developed a caste system which surpassed all others of its kind.

Professor Keet said: "A way must be found to enable non-Europeans to share in the task of building a nation; *apartheid* denied any such right to the coloured races. The right of legislation belonged exclusively to the whites under *apartheid*."

Discussing the problem of the franchise, he said that it was obvious that the granting of equal rights without any discrimination could only result in the loss of all that had been acquired throughout the years of development of Western civilization. If, in the distant future, the non-Europeans proved their superiority and took over the leadership, the Europeans could have no grievance, if they were unable, after a start of 300 years, to retain their advantage.

Quite naturally, both Europeans and non-Europeans gravitated to their own communities, and when it was possible, chose to reside in those localities where they found congenial company. Human social relations, he said, could never be enforced from above.

Professor Keet said that South Africa stood at the cross-roads. "Will it grasp the opportunity to give the world a shining example of racial co-operation in a multi-racial country, or will it persist in a policy that has failure writ large on the very first steps taken to ensure its implementation?"

"It is becoming clearer every day that we have only one choice. That is to work together or prepare ourselves for the inevitable conflict in which the one or other will be destroyed." (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 4, 1957.)

(The newspapers *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Express* and *Star* referred to in this section are South African publications.)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Talk of Incorporation

The *Windhoek Advertiser* (May 17, 1957) reported: "For a long time now the Union Government has been planning its next step in the 'painless' incorporation campaign which will soon make South West a fifth province of the Union without the risk of asking the residents of the Territory if they would like to record a vote on the matter.

"Since taking over the administration of the Territory's Native Affairs, things have been quiet on the Fifth Province front. But behind the scenes, plans were going ahead and few Nationalist Party members in South West realized that everything was being brought into line for the Union to strike again. This time the target is the Justice Department and even the Nationalist Party members in South West, who have said openly that they do not favour South West becoming a fifth province of the Union at this stage, will have a difficult task in preventing the 'aggressive' steamroller."

It stated that Mr. J. von S. von Moltke, M.P., had said in the Union House of Assembly: "Although the vast majority of the people of South West favoured closer association with the Union Supreme Court, it was not a branch of the Supreme Court of South Africa and the Attorney-General in S.W.A. was not under the jurisdiction of the Union Minister of Justice."

He did this, the newspaper claimed, because he was merely making an opening for the Union Minister of Justice to say that he personally agreed that the legal division between the Union and S.W.A. should be eliminated. If the S.W.A. Administration asked him to take action in the matter, he would do so, but the initiative had to come from South West Africa. This was a clear hint to the Nationalist Party in South West and one they can hardly ignore. The whole matter really boils down to this. The S.W.A. Justice Department is on the way to the Union. Only protest from S.W.A. voters can stop the steamroller. The next department to go is likely to be the Fisheries Department.

The same paper (May 24, 1957) added: "Here is another pointer. Last week the Leader of the Opposition in the S.W.A. Legislative Assembly objected to a change in the S.W.A. constitution which says that a Union Parliament Act, or a proclamation of the Union Government which applies to South West, need no longer be published in the Official Gazette of the Territory before it has the power of law. The Leader of the Opposition withdrew his objection to this action after he had been told that South West was consulted on the matter and that such laws would still be published in the S.W.A. Gazette. One is amazed at the Leader of the Opposition. Surely in any democratic country, the government of the country means not only the leading political party, but also the Opposition. If the Union had consulted South West on the matter, surely the government which means both sections of the House of Assembly, would have first discussed the matter giving the voters an opportunity of registering protest. . . ."

In the course of a debate on a motion introduced by the United Party (Opposition) "that with a view to establishing better relationships between the different population sections and language groups of Southern Africa, it is extremely necessary that both politicians and Press will act in a calm, tolerant and responsible way," Mr. J. G. H. van der Wath (Nationalist) said that the United Party of

South-West would always be accused of being sympathetic to the Communists until they came out openly to fight them as the Nationalists had. He added that the slogan of "South-West first" was a false creed. He said the Nationalists stood for incorporation with the Union under certain mutual agreements. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, May 28, 1957.)

Earlier the paper (February 12, 1957) reported on the possibility of attempts by the Union Department of Native Affairs to obtain control over mineral rights in South-West Native Reserves. It said that the area under discussion was the Skeleton Coast of the Kaokoveld, a Native and Game Reserve, and added: "The interesting point of the whole matter is that not one Native lives in the coastal areas where the mineral activities are carried out."

U.N. Committee Meets*

The U.N. Committee on South-West Africa set up in 1953 met in its enlarged form: Ethiopia and Finland were added to Brazil, Mexico, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay and the United States, who already had representatives on it.

A study group, composed of the representatives of the United States, Mexico and Finland, was set up to examine the question of possible legal action.† The Committee decided to meet again at the end of July (*U.N. Press Release GA/1510*, March 5, 1957.)

Reports on 1955 and 1956

The Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1955 referred to "the enthusiastic manner" in which the Bantu welcomed the taking over of their administration by the Union Government and the spontaneous and hearty co-operation they displayed, and said: "The Commission feels convinced that this spirit of co-operation, born *inter alia* out of personal contact, is a further factual proof that the policy—for the formulation of which it must itself accept joint responsibility in terms of its directive—is good and in accordance with that desired by the Bantu in all respects." Tracing the background, the report stated that the South-West Africa Native Administration Act made provision for the transfer of the Administration of Native Affairs from the administration of the Territory to the South African Minister of Native Affairs. The provisions of this law came into force on April 1, 1955.

The report said the total population of South-West Africa was approximately 470,000, of whom 420,000 were non-Europeans. The Herero population was between 45,000 and 50,000. (The Administrator of the territory subsequently said that the European population had by 1957 risen to between 62,000 and 65,000.)

The Commissioner of the South African Police reported for the year 1955 that there was not the slightest sign of racial tension in South-West Africa. Of the total number of 2,486 cases of murder in the Union and South-West, only 47 cases were from the Territory.

The total strength of the Police Force in South-West Africa was 276 Europeans and 229 non-Europeans at the end of 1955.

In the year 1955-56, South-West Africa had a surplus of £1.3 million, according to the report of the Controller and Auditor-General. The Administrator, in a budget speech, said that in 1956 the mining industry yielded £34.8 million, an increase of £6.5 million over 1955. Sales of diamonds realized £17.6 million, and lead-copper-zinc concentrates £14.6 million.

During the budget debate, Mr. E. A. Nel (Nationalist) said that there was an acute shortage of labour in the Territory. Dealing with Native labour deserters, he said that the Administration should send the guilty Ovambos back to Ovamboland immediately. The State should bear the costs and they should be taken back under escort. At present they were given a temporary pass and had to work for two months before they were sent back. This was to

enable them to pay their rail fares. However, before the two months expired, they usually deserted again.

Another difficulty which led to desertion was the fact that an Ovambo was allowed to obtain permission to work after hours for private people. Here he was paid up to 6s. a day—which meant nearly £30 a month. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, March 1, 8, 26, April 18, May 10 and 17, 1957.)

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Economic Conditions

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Labour), in the course of a debate in the House of Commons (May 6, 1957), referred to the "new, rich mineral discoveries" in Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, and said that there were both benefits and dangers for the inhabitants in these discoveries. To protect the inhabitants, he suggested only short-term concessions should be made to private capital; minimum wages should be set and these should rise progressively; Africans should be trained for skilled jobs and management; recognized trade unions should be established and housing schemes planned to "prevent the insanitary conditions of the shanty towns of Johannesburg."

In reply, Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that the Bamangwato Mineral Committee in Bechuanaland, of which Rasebolai Kgamane and Seretse and Tshekedi Khama were all members, was considering an application for prospecting and mineral rights, and were being advised by a geological consultant, Dr. Mackay, a member of a well-known London firm. He added: "I do not think we shall get exploitation in the older sense; instead, I think we shall get a development of these mining rights, ensuring not only that they are effective, but also that the interests of those concerned are properly safeguarded."

Mr. Alport referred also to "a substantial programme for the development of road communications" and the Colonial Development Corporation's work in the Usutu Forests of Swaziland. He said that the wages paid to public works employees in all territories was under review, and in Basutoland certain wages had been doubled. Referring to the allegation that conditions in their territories were driving people out, he said: "... The whole history of Africa has been one of the migration of peoples." It was wrong to draw false conclusions from this population movement—having made money outside, people rejoined their families in the territories.

Bechuanaland

Rhodesia's Claim

In a paper read to the Rhodesia National Affairs Association, Mr. W. A. Godlonton said that South Africa had never concealed its desire to obtain administrative control of Bechuanaland, and it had claimed that in 1909-10 a "solemn agreement" was made by Britain by which the Union acquired an exclusive interest in any disposal of the Protectorate.

"There is precise evidence to prove that no such agreement was ever made." In 1889 a Royal Charter was granted to the British South Africa Company for "the development of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the countries to the north."

This charter, a Matabeleland Order-in-Council and correspondence between Lord Ripon, Secretary of State, and Cecil Rhodes, gave a

* DIGEST IV, 5.

† DIGEST IV, 4 and 5.

clear promise by the British Government to bring Mashonaland, Matabeleland and the Protectorate under one administration at the appropriate time. The Ripon agreement had not been withdrawn by the British Government, nor had it been abandoned by any Southern Rhodesian Government. (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, March 13, 1957.)

Swaziland

Agricultural Progress

THE *Johannesburg Star* (April 17, 1957) reported that in spite of its minute European population of little more than 3,000, Swaziland, in area about the size of Wales, was progressing by leaps and bounds in mining, agriculture and timber growing. In the immense plantations of the Colonial Development Corporation at Usutu, about 30 miles south of Mbabane, £2,000,000 of the British taxpayers' money has been invested in pine trees. In the forests are 360 miles of road, built by the corporation for the development of the plantation and for the extraction of timber when it matures and is ready for sawing.

A big sawmill will be built, probably in 1964, when the trees are 14 years old. They are being planted on a 35-year rotation scheme to feed the sawmill regularly throughout the years. The corporation is helping to build up the Swazi National Forest—3,000 acres of pine belonging to the Swazi nation. Ultimately the nation will repay the costs of planting and tending this forest from its revenue from the timber.

Other companies, both large and small, are developing forestry free for the present at any rate. Of all the racial and political tensions which hamper and disturb South Africans, both Europeans and Natives seem to live in happy amity, with the Europeans giving employment to those who want it or need it, and the Natives giving their services in a friendly, co-operative, but far from servile spirit. Much of the credit for this harmony is due to the almost legendary Paramount Chief, Sobhuza II, who lives with his wives, estimated at between 50 and 60, and his scores of children in the royal kraal a few miles from Mbabane. His reputation after more than 30 years of rule is unsullied, and he is held in high esteem in Swaziland Government circles.

Timber, gold, asbestos, coal and iron ore deposits, fertile farming land, a steady labour force—Swaziland has all these advantages.

WEST AFRICA

Ghana

Appointment of Governor-General

LORD LISTOWEL is to be Governor-General of Ghana. Lord Listowel, aged 50, was the last Secretary of State for India and for Burma. He has been the Labour Party's assistant Whip in the House of Lords, and for a time was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. He was also Postmaster-General. For twenty years he has been a London county councillor. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 24, 1957.)

First High Commissioner

Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, a former Minister of Local Government, has been appointed Ghana's first High Commissioner in London. The Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, also announced that during this month administrative steps would be taken to enable an Embassy in Paris and a High Commissioner's office in New Delhi to be established. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 4, 1957.)

New Cocoa Organization

The Ghana Government has decided to wind up the Cocoa Purchasing Company and replace it with an organization set up by the United Farmers' Council. The Cocoa Purchasing Company, buying agents for the Cocoa Marketing Board, which controls prices paid to growers, was investigated last May, after allegations of irregularity, by a committee of inquiry headed by Mr. Justice Jibowu, of the Nigerian Supreme Court. The matter was later referred to a commission of inquiry, which reported that the Government, headed by Dr. Nkrumah, condoned irregularities in the company, which had been controlled by Dr. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party.

The Government tabled proposals providing that in future a responsible Minister could end appointments of members of statutory boards and give the boards orders on the performance of their duties. The Opposition described the proposals as "shameful and unworthy," and called on Dr. Nkrumah and two of his Ministers to resign. But the proposals were approved by Parliament on September 17 last year—the day before the announcement that the Gold Coast would become the independent State of Ghana on March 6 of this year.

The Leader of the Opposition, Professor Busia, said he hoped the winding up of the company would not mean that those responsible for "misappropriating its funds and disgracing Ghana" would not be dealt with. Another Opposition member, Mr. Appiah, expressed the hope that the new body "will not outstrip the Cocoa Purchasing Company in its malpractices."

Mr. Botsio promised to consider the Opposition's views, and gave an assurance that the new organization would be independent of the Government. (*The Times*, May 3, 1957.)

Signs of Independence

Mr. K. Botsio informed the National Assembly that Ghana would have its own shipping line within a few months. It would be called the "Black Star Line." Mr. R. E. Crabb, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, explained that negotiations had been taking place with Zin, the Israel shipping line, for purchasing, as well as chartering, ships. (*The Times*, June 12, 1957.)

Ghana signed an agreement with the United Nations for technical aid. The agreement provides \$100,000 worth of technical assistance, in the form of personnel and technical equipment, during the current year.

Commenting on the agreement, the Executive Chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, Mr. Owen, who was the United Nations signatory, said: "Ghana is one of 90 under-developed countries receiving assistance from us. We have also decided to expand considerably our activities in West Africa, and we shall soon be opening a permanent office in Accra to co-ordinate our work in this part of Africa." (*Manchester Guardian*, May 25, 1957.)

Accelerated Plan for Education

The Minister of Education, Mr. C. T. Nylander, reviewed the success achieved since the Accelerated Plan for Education came into existence five years ago. "The position is that throughout the length and breadth of Southern Ghana and Ashanti, primary school facilities are available for the great majority of children of school age. In 1951 there were just over 1,000 primary schools; in 1957 the number has risen to over 3,400, and the period of tremendous expansion in primary education is over." Mr. Nylander added that he recognized that there was still a special problem in the Northern Region and in the municipal areas where increasing concentrations of population existed.

In 1951 there were just under 600 senior schools; at present the number had risen to 900 approved middle schools. Mr. Nylander said it was a credit to Ghana's leaders that the number of children in the primary and middle schools had increased from 220,000 to 600,000 in five short years.

Ten teacher training colleges had been opened since 1951, bringing

the number of colleges to 30. In the 20 colleges in 1951 there were only 1,900 students, but in 1957 the number had risen to 4,000 students. Since 1951 the number of secondary schools within the public education system had risen from 13 to 38, and the number of pupils rose from 2,900 in 1951 to just under 10,000 in 1957. Six years ago there were 95 pupils in the sixth forms, but the number in the present year was 436 boys and girls.

At the end of last year there were 237 Government scholars in the United Kingdom and the United States, whilst most of the 870 students at the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology were studying on Government scholarships.

Facilities were now available in four trade schools and four technical institutes, and, although they were not working at full capacity, they would be in full operation when recruitment of the necessary teaching staff was completed and additional buildings completed. Altogether, some 2,200 students, including 127 women, were taking courses at these establishments. (*Ghana To-day*, July 10, 1957.)

Ghana Ministers Attacked

The *Ashanti Pioneer* (June 1, 1957) reported some wild scenes at a political meeting at Accra, organized by the Convention People's Party. The paper stated that a strong force of steel-helmeted police, armed with riot truncheons, were summoned to protect three Ministers from a hostile crowd. Mr. Gbedemah, who was accompanied by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Adjeo, and the Minister of Education, Mr. Nylander, told the audience that it was a pity that the people should face their own Government with the same hostility with which they confronted the imperialists. This was greeted with cries of "Because it is a bad Government," and various taunts directed to the Minister personally. Much of the criticism was concerned with Ministers' private houses and salaries, the housing problem and the Volta River project.

Volta Scheme

Dr. Nkrumah repeated the determination of his Government to carry out the scheme if it could. The Government, he said, had decided to allow a maximum period of two years within which a decision about the scheme should be made. During that period, he intimated, no other major long-term development would be initiated.

The *Times* (June 6, 1957) said that the scheme would give the country hydro-electric power and the ability to smelt its own aluminium from large bauxite deposits. The question was one of finance. The preparatory commission put the total cost at £230 million; now the figure mentioned was £300 million.

"From Ghana's point of view, the Volta scheme represents the difference between jogging along as a small peasant State with few mineral or industrial resources and trying to develop into a modern industrial society. Ghana will have to pass stern tests of political and financial stability. When the Volta River project was first mooted it seemed that external capital was eager to develop it while the people of Ghana hung back. They suspected that political colonization might be superseded by more subtle forms of economic domination. Now the position is reversed. A free and independent Ghana is anxious for the scheme to be realized, but external capital is wary of rushing in. It is conceivable that, if Commonwealth sources failed, Ghana might turn elsewhere. If America eventually steps in, Ghana may be attracted out of the sterling area and the Commonwealth orbit."

Budget Speech

The Minister of Finance, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, introduced a budget containing no surprises. He said that last year, for the first time in recent history, payments on current account showed an unfavourable balance of £17.7 millions, against favourable balances of £3.5 millions in 1955 and £30 millions in 1954. The deficit had been financed almost entirely from Ghana's own reserves, without

recourse to outside borrowing, but he added a warning that there was a very definite limit to the extent to which reserves could meet such a continuing drain. The main decline in the value of exports arose from the reduced world price of cocoa. The value of other exports had increased by £5 million, nearly half the increase being attributable to diamonds. In discussing the fall in cocoa prices, Mr. Gbedemah referred to the European Common Market Treaty, which, he said, would involve Ghana cocoa in a duty of 9 per cent. on import into the member countries, whereas imports from dependent territories of the member countries would pay no duty. The exact application of the treaty to Ghana, however, would have to be the subject of negotiation. (*The Times*, June 30, 1957.)

He announced an increase of 3d. in the tax on petrol, certain postal and telecommunication charges are to be raised, while in rural areas there will be a charge for pipe-borne water of 2s. 6d. for every thousand gallons. Matches also are to cost more, and so will cotton and rayon goods.

Plea for Autonomous Regions

The Asantehene, traditional ruler of the Ashanti people, said in a speech that Ashanti and southern Togoland should be allowed to manage their own affairs as much as possible.

"The unity and harmony of the whole country could best be secured through autonomous regions freely united as equals," he told the regional assembly. "Our position has been grossly misunderstood and misinterpreted by many." Mr. Lennox-Boyd, he said, had been one of the first to show a sympathetic understanding of the Opposition's position. He wished to pay high tribute to his statesmanship. (*Times*, May 13, 1957.)

Cabinet Ministers

Changes in the Cabinet were made in May, 1957. It now consists of:—

| Prime Minister, Defence and External Affairs | |
|--|---|
| Finance | Mr. K. A. Gbedemah |
| Communications | Mr. Krobo Edusei |
| Housing | Mr. A. Inkumsah |
| Local Government | Mr. A. Ofori Atta |
| Interior and Justice | Mr. Ako Adjei |
| Works | Mr. E. K. Bensah |
| Labour, Co-operative and Social Welfare | Mr. F. Y. Asare |
| Health | Mr. J. H. Allassani |
| Agriculture | Mr. A. L. Abavana |
| Commerce and Industry | Mr. Kojo Botsio |
| Without Portfolio | Mr. Kofio Baako, Mr. Yeboah Afari Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Mr. J. B. Erzuah Mr. A. Casely Hayford |

Nigeria

Constitutional Conference*

Federal Independence Delayed

At the Constitutional Conference the Nigerian delegates asked that legislation to give independence to Nigeria should come into force in 1959. The Secretary of State replied that he did not feel that he could reasonably go to his colleagues, as he must on an issue of such importance, and ask them to agree to such a blank cheque. He must be able to give his colleagues some idea as to how the cheque would be filled in; in particular, he must know what the face of Nigeria in 1959 would be likely to be. Two Regions were only just launching out on Regional self-government, while the

* DIGEST IV, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.

third—and largest—did not wish to receive it for some time. Nigeria as a whole had therefore not yet begun to take the strain of Regional self-government; and Her Majesty's Government must have some idea as to how that strain would be taken before finally settling the issue of independence. Furthermore, the Conference had only just agreed, after prolonged discussion and serious differences, to establish a Commission of enquiry into the position of minorities. This Commission might lead to the establishment of more States in Nigeria.

Full self-government within the Commonwealth was the proclaimed objective. Her Majesty's Government stood as firmly behind this as anyone in Nigeria. He was sure that delegates would accept that he needed no convincing that this was a proper and desirable objective. Timing was, however, an aspect of the problem which was of equal concern both to Nigeria and to Her Majesty's Government. The problems of Nigeria were very different from those of Ghana. The Gold Coast was a comparatively small territory with a long history of association with the West, and moreover it was a unitary state. Nigeria, on the other hand, was a large Federation.

The Sardauna of Sokoto made the following statement on behalf of himself, the other Regional Premiers and Dr. Endeley, the Leader of Government Business in the Southern Cameroons: "We have given further consideration to the Secretary of State's statement on the independence of the Federation of Nigeria. We feel bound to express our disappointment that it has not been possible for Her Majesty's Government to give an undertaking to grant independence to Nigeria on a date to be named in 1960 by the new Nigerian Parliament. The year 1959 has been unanimously proposed by the people of Nigeria, and we have given consideration to a date in 1960 only because we appreciate that the solution to the various problems that must be disposed of before independence will take longer time than we had thought.

"In the circumstances we can do no more than to take note of the Secretary of State's statement, while reserving to ourselves the right to pursue the issue further with a view to impressing upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity for granting independence to the Federation of Nigeria not later than April 2, 1960."

Regional Self-Government

At the conclusion of the Conference the Government issued a White Paper* which is summarized here. The Western and the Eastern Regional Governments asked for, and received, Regional self-government at the end of the Conference. The Northern Regional Government did not ask for self-government before 1959, but in the meantime the number of elected members in the House of Assembly is to increase from 131 to 170 and the House of Chiefs from 50-60. The Civil Secretary and the Financial Secretary should cease to be members of the Executive Council and the post of Deputy Governor is to be created.

Powers of the Governor

The Conference agreed to recommend that the Governor should no longer preside in Executive Council but there should be constitutional provision that he should be kept currently informed of Executive Council business.

The Governor, acting in his discretion, should appoint as Premier the person appearing to him to command a majority in the House of Assembly and, on the recommendation of the Premier, should appoint other Ministers.

It is recommended that the Chief Justice of a self-governing Region should be appointed by the Governor, acting in his discretion after consultation with the Chief Justice of the Federal Supreme Court. The office of Director of Public Prosecutions should be provided for in the constitutional instruments as an office in the

Public Service. The holder of the office should have vested in him sole responsibility for the initiation, conduct and discontinuance of prosecutions.

Creating of New States

A Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria. If no other solution seemed to them to meet the case, the Commission would be empowered as a last resort to make detailed recommendations for the creation of one or more new States.

Federal Government

After the dissolution of the present House of Representatives there should be two Legislative Houses for the Federation, a House of Representatives and a Senate with 12 members from each Region and from the Southern Cameroons, four members from Lagos and four special Members appointed by the Governor-General acting in his discretion.

The present House of Representatives should run its full course; thereafter the House of Representatives should consist of 320 Representative Members, elected on the basis of one member for approximately each 100,000 of the present population of the country. The Conference agreed to recommend that the members of the House of Representatives should be elected by universal adult suffrage in the Eastern and Western Regions, Lagos and the Southern Cameroons and adult male suffrage in the Northern Region.

The Conference agreed to recommend the creation of the office of Prime Minister of the Federation. The Governor-General should appoint as Prime Minister the person who appeared to him to command a majority in the House of Representatives. The Chief Secretary should cease to be a member of the Council of Ministers and there should be established instead of the office of Chief Secretary the office of Deputy Governor-General. The Attorney-General should cease to be a member of the Council of Ministers. The Financial Secretary should cease to be a member of the Council of Ministers and there should be a Federal Minister responsible for finance.

It was agreed that no police force in Nigeria should, so far as its use and operational control were concerned, at any time come under the control of political parties. The view was expressed that it would always be necessary to have a Federal Police Force and a Federal Police organization to discharge the Federal Government's responsibility throughout Nigeria.

It was agreed that the control at present exercised by the United Kingdom Army Council over the Nigerian Military Forces should be relinquished on April 1, 1958.

Provision has been made to safeguard the Constitutional position of the Town Council of Lagos, and to provide that a representative from a Lagos constituency in the House of Representatives should be appointed a Federal Minister.

In an editorial comment *West Africa* (July 13, 1957) said: "Regional self-government is to be hedged about with so many safeguards that even the most sceptical should be convinced that it cannot injure the Federation or allow party dictatorship: and the conference left unfinished far more business than appeared from its communiques . . .

"Unfinished business is of two kinds—matters to be considered either by a 'resumed conference' or by an *ad hoc* committee, and matters on which decisions, or new decisions, will have to be taken before the Federation becomes independent. The chief business of a resumed Conference will be, of course, to consider the reports of the commissions on minorities and on revenue allocation. But that conference will also have to consider the procedure to be adopted for amending (and we should add, though the report does not, interpreting) the constitution after independence; constitutional provisions to safeguard 'fundamental rights'; important matters con-

* H.M.S.O. (Cmd. 207).

cerning the administration of Lagos; the appellate jurisdiction of the Federal Supreme Court and Regional electoral regulations (which the N.C.N.C. is going to raise)."

Commenting on matters to be decided before Federal independence the editorial continued: "Clearly the appointment of Governors for self-governing Regions, and their powers, could not remain as the Conference has, however wisely, left them, even if it is to be hoped that little change will ever need to be made in the arrangements for civil service and judicial appointments. Again, in an independent Nigeria the Governor-General's considerable powers would have to be revised; in particular his power to intervene 'in his discretion' in Regional matters could not survive. Before Federal independence the Secretary of State has to make a final decision about the police; whatever decision he makes there will be a great deal of thinking to be done at that time, even though the conference has wisely recorded that ultimate responsibility for law and order throughout the Federation will be inherited by the Federal Government after independence—an interesting aspect of the doctrine that 'residual powers' reside in the Regions. The position of the armed forces will have to be looked at again, while the final decision on the future of the Cameroons . . . will have to be made.

"In other words the constitution which could be drafted as a result of the present Conference would be a long way from the constitution of an independent Federation whose whole machinery might be changed not only by independence but by the results of the Minorities Commission, whose terms of reference now include existing boundaries. The future of the Nigeria which, in Mr. Lennox-Boyd's words, can become 'the greatest African state in Africa,' is still obscure."

The British Cameroons

Constitutional Changes*

AFTER discussions with the Southern Cameroons delegates at the Nigeria Constitutional Conference, the Secretary of State said that H.M. Government fully recognized their obligations to the Cameroons under the Trusteeship Agreement. When Nigeria became an independent country, this arrangement would no longer be possible and the Trusteeship Agreement would have to be reviewed at that stage. One possibility was that the Cameroons should remain part of Nigeria when it became independent. This would involve the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and would require consultation with the United Nations. There could be no question of obliging the Cameroons to remain part of an independent Nigeria contrary to her own wishes.

The elected membership of the House of Assembly would be increased from 13 to 26. The three *ex-officio* members would remain and there would continue to be provision for two Special Members to represent interests or communities not otherwise adequately represented. There would be no Native Authority members. The Commissioner would be empowered, after consultation with the Premier, to appoint a Speaker, either from within or without the House, who would normally preside.

There would be a House of Chiefs consisting of approximately 20 members but in any event of not less than three members from each Division. The Commissioner, after enquiry and consultation with those concerned, would determine the number of members and their method of selection and would establish the House as soon as practicable. The functions of the House would be to consider and, by resolution, to advise on any question referred to it by the Commissioner or any question or matter introduced by a member. The Executive Council would have an unofficial majority. It would

consist of the Commissioner as President, three *ex-officio* members, and five unofficial members, of whom one would be styled Premier and the others Minister.

The delegate from the Northern Cameroons stated that he wished to reaffirm the decision which the Northern Cameroons had taken in 1953 to remain part of the Northern Region.

Sierra Leone

Dr. Margai's New Government

THE Ministers in the new Government formed after the recent election* are : Dr. M. A. S. Margai (Chief Minister, Health and Agriculture), Chief Kande Bureh (Works and Housing), Mr. M. S. Mustapha (Natural Resources), Mr. E. H. B. John (Education and Social Welfare), Dr. J. Karefa Smart (Lands, Mines and Labour), Mr. D. L. Sumner (Communications), the Rev. P. L. Dunbar (Health), Mr. I. B. Taylor-Kamara (Trade and Industry), and Paramount Chief R. B. S. Coker (Minister without Portfolio).

The *Manchester Guardian* (June 1, 1957) reported that the rivalry between Dr. Margai and his younger brother Mr. Albert Margai was threatening to split the Sierra Leone People's Party which won the election. Dr. Margai's leadership was challenged at an S.L.P.P. meeting shortly after the election, when his brother received 22 votes and he only 21 in the election of the Party's leader. However, Mr. Margai stood down in favour of his brother who, under the new Constitution will become the first Prime Minister of the territory.

Plan to Raise Standard of Education

Concerned by the low standard of Sierra Leone students admitted to Fourah Bay College, the College Council has forwarded to the Government a plan to raise educational standards in the country, but it warns that "partial implementation or half-hearted acquiescence is of as little benefit as outright rejection" and adds that "it should be realized that even the immediate launching of the entire operation cannot show practical and measurable returns in trained citizens for many years, but the alternative is to see education in this country dwindle and die." The Council points out that of 12 Sierra Leone students who took their first-year University examinations in 1954, five failed. In 1955, five out of 13 failed. Last year no less than 10 out of 12 failed.

The College Council, which is convinced that the solution lies in raising the standard of the teaching profession, in increasing the numbers of adequately trained teachers at all levels and, in improving the schools' facilities both as regards building and equipment, gives recommendations which it feels may be the answer to the problem.

It recommends that a teacher-training college be set up at once in the colony area for the training of teachers at first to the Teachers' Elementary Certificate level, and that "in such a college there should be arrangements for the training of selected students specifically with a view to teaching infant classes and that the arrangements already in hand by the Education Department for the creation of an inspectorate staff, to help and advise teachers in the early stages of their career, should be developed as quickly as possible."

Dealing with secondary education, the College Council report criticises staff leave arrangements which result in lack of continuity in teaching, and the effect of "inadequate housing facilities in the recruitment and retention of teachers from overseas and the consequent inadequacy of experienced staff in the more senior forms of schools."

* DIGEST IV, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.

* DIGEST IV, 6.

Immediate steps, says the report, should be taken to expand sixth form work in both Arts and Science at schools where such work is furthest advanced namely, Bo School, the Prince of Wales School, and the Annie Walsh Memorial School. (*West Africa*, July, 1957.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES French Africa

The Future of France in Africa

M. RENE MASSIGLI, formerly French Ambassador in London, wrote in the *Sunday Times* (June 30, 1957): "The French people today have so many serious problems on their minds—and entertain so many bitter reflections—that they have hardly realized the miracle whereby, even while the successive acts of the Suez drama were unfolded, their Government and Parliament managed to lay the foundations of a great achievement in West and Equatorial Africa.

"Barely a year has passed since the law of June 23, 1956, known as the 'framework law' (*loi-cadre*), went into force. It lays down the principles on which the territories of French Black Africa will be granted virtual autonomy in their internal affairs. Its application has followed with extraordinary rapidity. From Dakar to Brazzaville and Madagascar, universal suffrage has been introduced and the system of a single electoral college instituted; local territorial Assemblies have been elected and these in turn have appointed the Executive Councils.

"From one end of Africa to the other these have begun to function, and their members have become Ministers. An electorate composed as to a huge majority of Africans has chosen quite a number of European Deputies, and in no territory has the local Assembly failed to send one, if not several, Frenchmen of metropolitan origin to sit on the Executive Council.

"This remarkable evolution has been accomplished in an atmosphere of good humour, enthusiasm and confidence, which has impressed all observers, while M. Gaston Deferre, Minister for Overseas Territories in M. Guy Mollet's Cabinet, was given a cordial reception throughout the tour he has just made from Dakar to Tananarive. He deserved it. That the 'framework law' was passed, and the decrees applying it—already more than fifty in number—received Parliamentary approval in a few months, was due to the power of decision, the energy and the moral courage of two men. M. Deferre is one; the other is M. Houphouët-Boigny, descendant of a line of Guinea chiefs who, after being attracted in his youth by Communist propaganda, has become a confirmed apostle of Franco-African unity—indeed brotherhood. As he said recently to Mr. Nkrumah, he would rather put his money on that ticket than on complete independence. M. Houphouët-Boigny was Assistant Minister to the President du Conseil in the Mollet Government; today he is Minister of State, guaranteeing by his presence that the work now afoot will not be jeopardised.

"But the tenacity and the courage of these two statesmen would have been in vain had there not existed among the African leaders—however divided on other matters—the conviction that it is not by conflict with Europe and the West but, on the contrary, by association with them through France, and by benefiting from our experience and our technical superiority, that the black world will have the best chance of raising itself to the level of modern countries.

"That is the crux of the matter. Certain leaders, such as M.

Leopold Senghor, may prefer a federal system; others, while accepting the principles of the 'framework law,' may feel that they should be pressed further; but all agree that the common aim will be more readily achieved through associating with a Franco-African community than through isolating themselves in an absolute independence more apparent than real. The final legal forms have not yet been worked out, and probably will not be without trouble; but, as to the aim, there is no doubt whatever.

"This African goodwill has been matched by a corresponding goodwill from France. First of all, the French Parliament realized that there could be no question of cutting the amount of public investment in Africa; rather the contrary, the effort launched in 1946 will be continued and intensified. The Africans are very conscious of the benefits we bring them in this way.

"On the political side, on the other hand, Administration and Parliament alike have got firmly into their heads—perhaps for the first time and let us hope not the last—that realities count more than the legal forms that define and delimit. For once, with an empiricism worthy of the British, the legislator has refrained from entering into all the details of the system which he was setting up; moreover, in its very first clause the 'framework law' laid down the principle of an early revision of the chapter of the Constitution relating to the French Union, as if the authors of the law were aware how rash was the enterprise on which they were embarking until such revision had been effected.

"Having thus set legal scruples at rest, they felt themselves at liberty to interpret the actual constitutional provisions with the maximum of elasticity. Thus it happened that the modest name of 'measures for decentralisation and for administrative deconcentration' really covers the inauguration of self-government. Into the bargain, this method has the advantage of allowing one to proceed cautiously, groping, and to correct earlier any faults or errors which experience reveals.

"In the course of a recent visit to England I was able to see that people concerned realize the importance of the experiment in which we are engaged. May I add, nevertheless, that it has sometimes seemed to me that our British friends were not always innocent of the faults with which they reproach us, and that they themselves might be capable of an excess of logic. 'Either dependence or independence,' they say sometimes 'there is no middle course.' That is to forget that truth does not always reside in one fork of a dichotomy or the other, but may lie somewhere between the two. It is precisely this search for the 'true' solution in present-day conditions in Black Africa that we hope we have launched for the territories of French culture. Much depends on the success of our experiment, but this in turn depends to a certain extent on the sympathy with which our friends and neighbours treat it.

"I do not say that in order to shift responsibilities which are properly ours. It is only too plain that if in the months to come France fails to reach a reasonable solution of the Algerian problem and so to clear the way for the necessary Franco-Muslim reconciliation, the consequences will not be limited to North Africa; the success of our policy in Black Africa would in its turn be jeopardized. It is the whole fate of France that is being played out in Algeria."

Rivalry over Sahara Development*

Mr. Bourguiba, the Tunisian Prime Minister in an interview with the correspondent of the *Istiqlal* paper *Al Alam* during his visit to Rabat said that the idea that France could exploit the Sahara without prior agreement between the interested parties was a non-sensical colonialist pretension. A country's resources could be exploited only with the agreement of its inhabitants, and once the countries of the Arab Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, presumably including the Saharan hinterland) had secured their full

* DIGEST IV, 4.

freedom they would not refuse foreign co-operation in these immense areas. *The Times* (March 27, 1957) explained: "The French argument is that the Sahara, being virtually unpopulated, belongs historically to no one but France, by right of conquest in the last century. They say that the few nomadic tribesmen in the desert dislike their northern Muslim neighbours and would rather remain under French protection. Administratively, nearly all the French Sahara is still part of Algeria, but it is now being endowed with a separate economic and military organization that will tend to place it more directly under the eye of Paris and less under that of Algiers. It is easy to interpret this move as an attempt to insulate the Sahara from Algerian claims to independence.

"The Moroccans argue that the Algero-Moroccan frontier has never been properly delimited, and from this they deduce that it was quite arbitrary of the French to place the Tindouf area, now known to contain one of the world's largest iron deposits, on the Algerian side of the frontier. France has not yet formally agreed to discuss this question with the Moroccans.

"The Istiqlal Party, which has a majority in the Moroccan Cabinet, is on less firm ground on the Mauretanian issue. It claims that the Moroccans should annex Mauretania (which is rich in iron and copper) because both peoples are Moors and the Moroccans originally came from Mauretania. The French say that it is fantastic to aspire to annex one's mother country; and they add that the Mauretanians are a proud and nationalistic people and have no desire to be annexed, but wish to be left to go their own road peaceably to independence under the aegis of France. This view is borne out by independent observers, and it is remarked that the mixed rebel bands that recently entered the country from Morocco seemed to have received little local support.

Criticism from Rhodesia

Mr. H. M. Nkumbula, President-General of the N. Rhodesian African National Congress, said that Africans under the French and Belgian rule in West and Central Africa were not to be envied. He said personally he did not like the French policy of assimilation. There was no colour-bar in their colonies, and that was quite all right but he felt that that spoiled Africans and made them think they were black Frenchmen. They think that because they have representatives in the French parliament in Paris they are just as good as Frenchmen. "Colour bar," he said, reminded Africans of the necessity of ruling themselves. "When you will have broken the colour bar in hotels and other places some of you will forget the struggle for national liberation. And that is exactly what is the case in French territories and in the Congo." (*African Eagle*, April 2, 1957.)

Italian Interest in Mauretania

The Italian Government-controlled steel group, Finsider, announced this weekend that it had bought a 15 per cent interest in Miferma (Société de Mines de Fer Mauritanie) which controls valuable African iron ore deposits near Fort Gouraud, Mauretania. A spokesman indicated that the Canadian capital which had been invested in Miferma had been withdrawn, but he hoped that capital from other European countries would join with the British, French and Italian funds already represented in Miferma to develop the ore deposits. "If we could succeed in putting together such a European enterprise, we could look forward to a wider economic co-operation in other fields in Africa," he said. (*The Times*, May 6, 1957.)

The French Cameroons

Trusteeship Council Discussions

THE Trusteeship Council's recent review of the French Cameroons, a country more than half as large again as New Zealand, included

a report of a new political phase in the territory's development. In December 1956 fifty-five per cent. of the population of just over three million voted for candidates for the new Territorial Assembly. Other political reforms envisaged in a draft statute for the territory are designed to pave the way for a large measure of self-government in this, the second largest Trust Territory.

According to the draft the Cameroonian Government would be composed of a prime minister, nominated by the High Commissioner and appointed by the Assembly by a simple majority, as well as nine ministers and five secretaries of state chosen by the Prime Minister.

M. Bargues (France) further explained that the government would be responsible to the Assembly. The Cameroons would continue to be represented in the Assembly of the French Union and in the French Parliament and to participate through its elected representatives in the central organs of the French Republic. A semi-autonomous province would be established in the north, with a local assembly and financial autonomy. The High Commissioner appointed by the President of the French Republic would represent France and exercise, on its behalf, the trusteeship powers vested in the administering authority. The statute would obviously be susceptible of evolution and might be modified following a resolution of the Cameroonian Legislative Assembly. It would remain in force until the people of the Cameroons were ready to vote on their country's final status in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the trusteeship agreement.

The new Assembly includes four political groups: the Union Camerounaise, with thirty members, the Mouvement Democratique Camerounais, with twenty members, the Groupe d'Action Nationale, with eight members, and the Groupe des Paysans Independants, with nine members; one representative had taken his seat as an independent.

Describing the economic scene M. Xavier Deniau, the Special Representative of France, said that coffee production had been several thousand tons above the 1955 level and cotton and banana production had been maintained at the same level. Cocoa production declined very slightly. The fact that production had been maintained and in some cases extended was largely due to the combined efforts of the modernizations units, the African provident societies and the co-operatives. The modernization units had continued their education technical activities through the postes de paysannat, ten of which were now under the direction of Cameroonianians.

The work of harnessing the Sanaga Falls at Edea continued during 1956; by 1959 the Edea power station would produce more than 1,000 million kilowatt hours a year. The Alucam Company at Edea had produced its first aluminium ingot. In a few years production should amount to 45,000 tons of aluminium per annum. When in full operation, Alucam would consume 900 million kilowatt hours of electricity or most of the output of the Edea power station. Aluminium production was undoubtedly the most important economic development in the Cameroons since 1955.

During the Council's review much of the discussion turned on incidents which occurred in the southern part of the territory during April-May of 1955. As a result of these incidents the administering authority had, by a decree of July 13, 1955, ordered the dissolution of one of the territory's political parties, the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), and two affiliated organizations, the Jeunesse Democratiques des Femmes Camerounaises (UDFC). The administering authority described the Union des Populations du Cameroun as a seditious alliance which had been composed of armed bands and had provoked riots.

Numerous petitions from the UPC and a number of other organizations, as well as from private individuals, have protested against the dissolution of the political organizations. Many other petitions have called for repeal of the decree of July 13, 1955, the

end of political persecution the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty.

In their individual comments on the report on the territory a majority of delegations commended the administering authority and the Cameroonian people for the progress made during the past year. Although there was some divergence of opinion as to the speed with which the political reforms were being introduced it was generally felt that the territory has now embarked on a period of rapid evolution.

U pe Kin (Burma) described the process taking place in the French Cameroons as "the beginnings of the transfer of sovereignty." Burma had experienced a similar phase and fully understood the position of the people of the Cameroons.

As chairman of the 1955 visiting mission Mr. Max Dorsinville (Haiti), declared that the Cameroonians had a deep faith in their country's future and he was delighted to see that the administering authority at last recognized that they were unanimous in their desire for independence. Until recently its policy had given the impression that certain elements were being suppressed only because they were demanding independence. In 1955 many people who were not in sympathy with the aims and methods of the dissolved political organizations had nevertheless considered it inadvisable to express their views publicly before the visiting mission.

Less optimistic were the views of some other delegations which expressed serious concern over the election disturbances. Mr. Rikhi Jaipal (India) disagreed with the views of the administering authority that the 1956 reforms had been the result of a long process of development under French administration. He considered that the period of the trusteeship had been marked by delays, stagnations and indecisions in the introduction of reforms.

It was only in 1956, ten years after the territory was placed under trusteeship that political advance of any major significance was registered. Meanwhile political disappointment with the repeated delays had reached an "explosive" point, leading to the events of April and May 1955, and the dissolution of three political parties. These developments had been followed by a popular demand for political amnesty.

Mr. Jaipal thought it apparent that political rather than economic discontent was at the root of the matter. Clearly, in these circumstances, repressive measures would not improve the situation. All this made it doubly necessary to give the most serious consideration to proclaiming a general amnesty at a very early date. The representatives of both Syria and Guatemala suggested that the territory's final status should be examined at the Council's next session, as there was no point in discussing the political situation in the territory until the new statute was approved. (*U.N. Review*, May 1957.)

Portuguese Africa

The Colonial System

THE ECONOMIST (May 25, 1957) describing conditions in Portuguese "overseas provinces" said that the Portuguese East African might be described as "strength through inertia." The Portuguese have in their own eyes a *mission civilisatrice* but they are clearly in no hurry to achieve it. Meanwhile the population is neatly divided into "civilized" and "uncivilized"—there are about 100,000 of the former class and six million of the latter. Those who are white, yellow, Indian or half caste are deemed to be civilized *per se*. Negroes, on the other hand, must be "assimilated." In 1950, 4,345 of them in Mozambique had achieved assimilation.

To become assimilated a Portuguese African must be 18 years of age, speak accurate Portuguese, behave in a fitting manner, and must not have had a heavy charge-sheet in the army or been a

deserter. If he is married, his wife and his children (whether legitimate or illegitimate) under the age of eighteen may also become citizens if they are Portuguese-speaking and well behaved. Once given, citizenship can only be withdrawn if the subject has committed some grave crime.

The Portuguese assimilation technique makes an interesting comparison with the Belgian one. In the Congo there are two categories of persons; Belgian citizens and *nationaux belges de droit colonial*.

There is no promotion from one category to the other. Whereas Congolese can never become Belgians, the Portuguese can claim to have actually fabricated fully-fledged Portuguese out of African material. These *assimilados* are few but impressive. For instance, the Goanese—who are to be found in Mozambique—are full Portuguese citizens who are in no sense comparable to the native intelligentsia of British Africa; they are managers, not politicians. The *assimilados* do not, of course, have full electoral freedom; but neither do the metropolitan Portuguese who are citizens of what the 1933 Constitution calls a unitary and corporate republic.

The "uncivilized male natives" are made to do useful work for six months in the year. This is done both in the economic interests of Mozambique and, the authorities claim, in order to civilize the natives. Labour is not plentiful in the provinces, partly because of the exodus to the neighbouring territories, and the system is controlled by an inspectorate. It cannot exactly be called forced because the natives have the right to choose their employers.

GENERAL

COMMONWEALTH AND COLONIES

Prime Minister's Conference

THE Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in London. The *Sunday Times* (June 30, 1957) said "the presence of the Prime Minister of Ghana, its first fully self-governing African member State—African, that is, in race—is the signpost pointing to the new road; but like a signpost it is only a beginning, and does not itself disclose the nature of the path ahead."

It went on: "Ghana's appearance begins a new era because it brings Africa as such right into the midst of the Commonwealth complex: Africa, which is writing its story of civilization and nation-statehood on a clean slate—writing, one might say, on a black slate with a white pencil. This is quite different from the adherence of the three Asian members, with their long histories of culture, power and international relationships."

"In Africa is going to be played out one of the great dramas of history. It is one that intimately concerns the Commonwealth as a whole. In its racial aspect, because if the problems of multi-racial society cannot be solved in the Commonwealth, where can they be solved save in the prison-house of Communism? In its political aspect, because the Commonwealth can give from its own lifeblood to nascent Africa that which alone is guaranteed to withstand the onslaught of doctrines of dictatorship—the rule of law, freedom of discussion, Parliamentary government. In its economic aspect, because mutual help without extraneous 'strings' is still the essence of the Commonwealth relationship: and Africa will need help with men and money, skill and machines."

The *Times* (July 6, 1957) commenting on the presence of Sir Roy Welensky (Rhodesia and Nyasaland), Mr. Eric Louw (South Africa) and Dr. Nkrumah (Ghana) said: "The presence of the three African Ministers, two white and one black, has been the beginning of what could develop into a new co-operation between independent African States."

Economic Problems

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah told a meeting of the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association that the economic future of Ghana was inextricably bound up with the Volta River scheme, and that means must be found of providing the great amount of capital that was required. (*Manchester Guardian*, June 25, 1957.)

In a review of Commonwealth economic policy, *The Observer* (June 30, 1957) said: "The hope that, one day, Britain would again become a major source of investment capital for Commonwealth economic development is gradually being strangled. The truth is dawning that Britain has nothing like enough capital to satisfy all the demand on it. . . .

"As the colonies speed up their development plans, after independence, they, too, will turn their bank balances into goods. As this happens, Britain's chances of being able to find additional capital for the older Commonwealth members—whose standards of living in any case are as high as, or higher than, her own—are obviously slender.

"The conclusion from these facts would seem to be that, so far as the older Commonwealth countries are concerned, Britain will soon have to admit that there is little she can do for them either to develop trade or to increase investment. The problem remains, however, of what she—and, perhaps, the other members—can do for the newer and less economically developed members."

The *Manchester Guardian* (June 15, 1957) advocated a Colombo Plan for Africa and said: "To draft technicians to Africa by similar means may be the first task of a plan drawn up for Africa. The mobilizing of capital is, of course very necessary, and the Volta River negotiations have shown how difficult this may be. But to meet the capital needs of Africa is beyond the unaided capacity of Britain and the Commonwealth. The World Bank may be the most promising source. On the other hand a scheme for pooling technical aid for Africa's benefit could be put into operation quickly and without extreme financial burden. . . .

"If Britain and Africa—and other well-disposed countries—can from the start offer a corps of technical experts, there is no need to run through the melancholy course from self-confident self-sufficiency to confusion. Of course, a Colombo Plan cannot be forced on Africa. Even the proposal of it may cause a suspicion. Nationalists will see in it a back-door way of the Colonialists to maintain their influence. But there was suspicion in South Asia, and it was overcome. In Africa, free Asia itself, with its experience of the plan's working, might be persuaded to join with the West in offering the aid and in guaranteeing—and ensuring—that it conceals no undesirable political purpose. There would be new opportunity for India in a constructive rôle."

Colonialism Attacked at T.U. Conference

A Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions took place in Tunis. Mr. Habib Bourguiba, the Prime Minister of Tunisia, welcomed the delegates. He used the occasion to say he knew the confederation had chosen Tunis as its meeting-place as a token of its support for the Tunisian government.

He said: "Convinced as we are that our freedom and our independence will be in a vulnerable position as long as other peoples are deprived of freedom and independence, we have devoted ourselves to speeding the accession of the dependent peoples to freedom and self-determination."

Mr. W. Schintzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations, said those who prized liberty and equality should welcome the strong bonds of solidarity between Tunisia and the Algerian people, who were now in the decisive stage of their struggle for independence.

Mr. J. K. Tettegah, of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, reinforced the attack on "colonialism." The delegates decided to raise

a fund of £2 million during the next three years, to be used to help "victims of repressive measures either from Communists, Fascists or colonial regimes." The British T.U.C. is aiming at a contribution of £500,000.

The *Daily Telegraph* (July 6, 1957) reported that Sir Vincent Tewson, Trades Union Congress general secretary, and Sir Tom O'Brien, M.P., a senior member of the T.U.C. general council, were concerned about the slights on British colonial policy. It said that they felt that no discrimination was made between the French action in Algeria and the British methods of handling colonial problems.

Colonial Progress Maintained

Political, economic, and social progress continued steadily throughout most of the colonial territories in 1956, according to the annual report of the Colonial Office.* Great advance has been made in some areas towards political independence, there have been increases in Government revenues and in the value of imports, and big improvements have been made in education and public health facilities.

The output of most colonial products rose, and the value of exports was £1,445 million, about six per cent. higher than in 1955. The value of imports was £1,639 million in 1956, an increase of about nine per cent. on the previous year.

The general pattern of trade was much the same as in former years. The principal customer and source of supply was the United Kingdom. Most territories have a surplus on their trade with the dollar area and a deficit with the sterling area. Government revenues and expenditure show a general rise. The value of schemes made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act increased though actual expenditure rose only to about £17 million, compared with an average of £24 million a year available for the period 1955-60. Financial assistance from Britain totalled £25,583,500.

There was a big expansion during the year in educational facilities. The number of students at all levels, from primary schools to universities and university colleges, continued to increase. Free universal primary education was introduced in the Eastern Region of Nigeria and Lagos. The number of students taking courses in Britain and the Irish Republic reached 12,622.

The Times (June 18, 1957) summarised progress made under the heading "How Fast?" It said: "The first half of 1957 has been an extremely busy period in colonial affairs. Inevitably the accomplishments—and the failures, for there have been some—revolve round the personality of Mr. Lennox-Boyd . . . His visits to the Central African Federation in January did much to clear the way for the satisfactory agreement reached later with Sir Roy Welensky. This lays down a sensible programme for the further advance of the Federation which safeguards both Britain's obligations and federal aspirations. On the return journey he persuaded the Ghana leaders to accept a recipe for independence which was equitable to the Ashanti and other minorities . . .

"The Opposition has been almost as active as the Government during this period. The policy pamphlet on the Plural Society was succeeded by those on economic aid and on the smaller colonies. In these the Labour Party favours governmental as opposed to private development and international as opposed to national organs for the application of economic help. For the smaller colonies, if they will not join up with larger units in one way or another, it propounds a scheme whereby they will achieve complete independence and then by a voluntary act hand back responsibility for external affairs and defence to the United Kingdom or some other Commonwealth Power. The Labour Party keeps a close contact with colonial nationalists and socialist parties. This contact has at times been of help to the Government. But it sometimes has the

* THE COLONIAL TERRITORIES, 1956-57; H.M.S.O. (Cmd. 137), 7s.

effect of retarding settlements, because colonial nationalist leaders get the idea that the Labour Party is bound shortly to be returned to power and will reverse all the policies of the Tories . . .

"Undoubtedly the great anomaly of British colonial policy, whether interpreted by the Conservatives or the Socialists, is the haphazard order in which colonies approach independence.

"In regard to the multi-racial societies, a positively dangerous situation is developing. East Africa may be willing to submit for a decade or so to Colonial Office tutelage, but the position in Central Africa is different. Sir Roy Welensky's willingness to stick to the 1960-63 timetable was made with the full understanding that Ghana and Malaya would become independent in 1957. This was an exercise of restraint which cannot have been too easy to defend among his European constituents. Now Nigeria has put forward a claim for independence. Undoubtedly this will increase the pressure in the South. To make a reasoned timetable for the creation of free States within the Commonwealth cannot be easy. In a world of growing nationalism and shifting powers Britain has somehow to present a balance between her obligations, her needs and her responsibilities.

"For the colonial peoples, the greatest need is to apply themselves to the practical problems of running a State in the modern world. At present far too much of their energies is taken up in the anti-colonial struggle. For many of them this struggle has become an article of faith though in fact there has in most cases been precious little opposition on the British side to struggle against. Far more important is it to prepare themselves for the post-colonial period. Independence will bring no automatic solution to their social and financial difficulties.

"Colonial countries lead a sheltered existence in the sense that they are walled off from the blizzards of the outside world by the administering Power. Independence means the knocking down of the wall. From then on the emergent territories are exposed to the full blast of a highly competitive outside world. Experience in the East has shown that some are capable of weathering this storm, others not. Hence the necessity to concentrate on forging a sound governmental, administrative and economic structure. Without this, independence will prove an illusory benefit."

Commonwealth Labour Conference

The Commonwealth conference of Labour Parties, meeting in Beatrice Webb House, near Dorking, Surrey, unanimously passed a declaration of principle which contained these passages:

"This conference declares that, while responsible democratic attitudes must be developed in territories still awaiting self-government, grave risks are involved in unduly delaying the liberation of the subject peoples of the world.

"This conference condemns the creation of the Federation of Central Africa (comprising Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) against the wishes of the African peoples, and demands that they be given the right of self-determination, and that all three territories be granted a democratic constitution based upon adult franchise of one man one vote. Only action of this nature will reduce to a minimum the risks associated with the development of a second South Africa, which now carries the hallmark of a police State.

"This conference states, that, in effect, the problems of East and Central Africa lie in the concentration of power in the hands of the minority European group, which gives them an opportunity to distribute the wealth of the country as they desire. The solution lies in the establishment of a common roll, to be implemented as soon as possible, and which should be based on the principle of universal adult franchise."

Whilst the value of existing forms of economic aid as represented by the Colombo Plan are recognized, it is stressed that the need is for greater planned assistance in under-developed territories. Such

assistance should be increasingly channelled through the agencies of the United Nations, e.g. S.U.N.F.E.D., thus removing the fears of the emergent peoples that aid from national sources represents a continuance of economic exploitation. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 27, 1957.)

UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Report on Urbanization

THE United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs in a chapter of its "Report on the World Social Situation" entitled "Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara," said that the problem of shifting from rural life to modern city life was worse in Africa than anywhere else in the world.

In Asia and Latin America, it remarked, "the continuity of religion" common to both rural and urban life smoothes the transition—but Africa lacked this. "It is difficult," the publication said, "for the African to merge and fuse traditional and modern elements and produce a coherent new culture from this fuse . . . the contradictions and conflicts he faces are often aggravated by difficult problems of race relations." The report said that in Africa south of the Sahara the number of cities with a population of 100,000 people or more had grown from nine in the 1930s to 29 by the most recent estimates.

Of the 29, eight, including the three biggest (Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban) are in the Union of South Africa.

The authors of the report attributed the expansion largely to the increasingly intensive exploitation of mining resources and primary agricultural products "because of war-time and post-war demands." (*Central African Post*, April 3, 1957.)

Economic Decline

A deterioration in the balance of trade for most countries of tropical Africa was noted in a United Nations report on economic developments in Africa in 1955 and 1956.

The document, a supplement to the general world economic report, said the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria, in particular, showed a deficit in 1955 after recording large surpluses in previous years. The only countries to show substantial improvement in 1955 were the Belgian Congo, the Federation of Central Africa, Liberia and the Sudan, all of which recorded trade surpluses.

South Africa's national income continued to expand in the last two years, but the rate of increase was "substantially slowed down" because of tight money and a decline in agricultural prices. Inflationary pressures arising from labour shortages and other causes in the Union have become "particularly critical since 1955 tending to slow down the expansion of the economy." (*Manchester Guardian*, June 27, 1957.)

ISRAEL & AFRICA

Economic and Diplomatic Relations

THE OBSERVER (April 21, 1957) reported that Israel planned to expand and improve its economic and diplomatic relations with African and Asian countries. Her efforts included the sending of a group of Israeli technicians and instructors to Ethiopia on the latter's request to help in development of this largest African Kingdom.

The Israeli consulate in the new State of Ghana has been raised to embassy rank as a demonstration of Israel's appreciation of

African nations' independence. Israeli efforts for improved relations are concentrating on such pro-Western countries as Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana, since there is little hope of improving relation with the Muslim and Arab countries before a *modus vivendi* with Israel's four Arab neighbours is found.

BOOK LIST

Recent Acquisitions in the African Bureau Library

CENTRAL AFRICAN EXAMINER Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2 and 3. A fortnightly magazine founded largely on the advice of Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, formerly editor of *The Economist*. (Price 2s.).

LABOUR'S COLONIAL POLICY Nos. 2 and 3. Two further booklets, published by the Labour Party, dealing with economic aid and policy in the smaller colonial territories. (Price 9d. each).

NKRUMAH, KWAME *Ghana*. Thomas Nelson and Son, Ltd. The autobiography of the village goldsmith's son who has become the first Prime Minister of Ghana. (Price 21s.).

RANDALL, DARRELL, *Factors of Economic Development and the Okovango Dam*. University of Chicago. A detailed analysis, political, economic and social of the factors involved in planning a scheme of regional development in Bechuanaland. (Copies obtainable from the Africa Bureau, Price 14s.).

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1955-56* compiled by Muriel Horrell. A comprehensive report on housing, employment, education, recent legislation, etc. (Price 10s.).

SOUTHALL, A. W. and P. C. W. GUTKIND, *Townsmen in the Making*. Published by East African Institute of Social Research 1956 as No. 9 of the East African Studies series. A general survey of Kamapla and its suburbs with a foreword by A. Kalule Sempa, Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government. (Price 5s.).

WALKER, Eric, *A History of Southern Africa*, Longmans. This is the third edition of a standard work which ranges from Egyptian times to 1955 and covers South Africa, the High Commission Territories and the Central African Federation. (Price 60s.).

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

MRS. J. GRIMOND and Mr. Peter Parker, M.V.O., have joined the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee gave a luncheon on July 18 for Senior members of universities in Britain and Africa. Lord Hemingford spoke on the work of the Bureau, and various subjects of interest to both the universities and the Bureau were discussed.

The Director had a private interview with Mr. Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, who was in Britain recently for the Commonwealth Conference.

Full discussions have been held with Mr. Harry Nkumbula and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President and Secretary-General of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress respectively, covering both territorial matters and the future of the Central African Federation.

In conjunction with Mr. James Johnson, M.P., we have been asked to make the arrangements for the delegation of African Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council which is visiting Britain. The delegation is led by Mr. Tom Mboya, M.L.C., and has come to put the case of the African Elected Members for constitutional reforms in Kenya. They will meet members of all political parties in Parliament, members of the press, and others who can influence opinion in Britain.

A number of visitors from the U.S.A. have called at the Bureau Office recently, including Mr. George Houser, of the American Committee on Africa. Arrangements were made for a study group led by Mr. Darrel Randall to meet M.P.s, officials from the Colonial Office, and representatives of organisations with whom they discussed African questions before leaving for a three month study tour of Africa.

Talks were held with the Bishop of Johannesburg who spent a day in London on his way to the U.S.A., and with Dr. Ellen Hellmann, one of the Trustees of the South African Treason Trials Defence Fund, who was on a visit to Britain.

Arising out of discussions with members of the Bureau staff on the implications of university apartheid in South Africa, the Committee on Science and Freedom decided to organize a meeting in London in November to rally support amongst the academic community, and others concerned with South African questions, for the declaration by 22 Vice-Chancellors of British universities protesting against the imposition of compulsory race segregation in the South African universities (see Digest IV, 6). The Bureau has been asked to assist in some of the arrangements for this meeting, at which the Rev. Michael Scott will be one of the speakers.

The Director visited Paris and Berlin at the beginning of June. In Berlin he preached in the English Church of St. George's and in Christ Church, Dahlem, and addressed meetings arranged by the Ecumenical Church Movement. In Norwich Mr. Scott spoke at the S.P.G. Mission rally and in London he addressed a meeting of the Friends International Centre.

Other meetings on South Africa have been addressed in London by Dr. Gillmore Lee, one of the Trustees of the African Schools Fund, and in Sussex by Miss Symonds, the Acting Secretary. Mr. Peter Kuenstler of the African Development Trust addressed a conference in Bristol on race relations in Central Africa.

The Trustees of the Africa Protectorates Trust met in July. Three grants to African students at present studying in the United Kingdom were authorised.

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